

# American SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

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# American SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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## PARTICIPATION OF SOCIOLOGISTS IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SUMMARY STATEMENT BY CARL C. TAYLOR\*

*United States Department of Agriculture*

THE DECLARATION of a state of war occurred after written statements were prepared for the panel discussion. Emphasis on public affairs was not only heightened but changed by that declaration. The panel discussion did not, therefore follow closely the ideas expressed in the statements. The chairman of the panel engaged in the discussion, although he had not prepared a written statement. Two members of the Committee who were not on the panel did prepare and submit statements. This addition to the statements presented below is for the purpose of giving consideration to all these facts.

Viewpoints presented in writing by other members of the Committee emphasized that: (1) the present war is a "psychological war" and as such offers an interesting laboratory for sociological study; (2) sociologists should give "direct attention" to public affairs, i.e., to "government and people, not merely to funds, budgets, and procedures"; (3) they should help to apprise lawmakers and public officials of "social needs"; (4) they should not stop with research, but should engage in practical affairs, even in public policy-making.

In the panel discussion itself, the viewpoints expressed in the previously prepared statements were not disregarded, but some of the participants seemed to feel that recent events had served to make their written statements less pertinent. Others seemed unwilling to press their pleas for keeping sociological observations on an "objective" and "intellectual" plane because they felt that the members of the audience were hostile to anything interpreted as "research as usual." A number of times, the discussion started in the direction of giving consideration to significant long-time trends, in some of which trends undoubtedly even a major war is only one episode. When, however, some member of the panel presented a counter-suggestion

\* This statement was prepared by Mr. Taylor on February 13, 1942. He was chairman of the panel discussion, arranged by the Society's Committee on Participation of Sociologists in National Affairs, held at New York, Dec. 27, 1942. Mr. Taylor was also chairman of this committee. His report will be found on pages 88-90 of the February, 1942, *American Sociological Review*.—Ed.

or rebuttal to these ideas, the audience evidenced its sanction of the rebuttal. Three times during the discussion some members of the audience broke into applause, each time in response to some statement that was interpreted as "a crack" at fundamental, long-time, or theoretical research.

When the opportunity for participation in discussion was passed to the audience, the tendency to be impatient with anything smacking of the theoretical, objective, long-time, fundamental, or purely intellectual aspects of sociology was greatly magnified. With only one exception, the dozen or more persons who spoke from the floor went farther than the members of the panel in their insistence that "sociologists come down to earth," "forget long-time research," "spend their energies in activities that are more fundamental than 'fundamental research,'" "volunteer for other than sociological types of service for the duration." One speaker said sociologists could well afford to forget their profession for the time being and do their part as ordinary citizens.

As I look back at the program of that session and tie it into some statements made at other sessions and many statements and conversations I participated in or listened to, I am stimulated to make three broad generalizations about sociologists and present national affairs.

1. There is a great desire, almost anxiety, among sociologists to be useful in the present defense and war activities.
2. Many of them feel pretty helpless and others feel frustrated in the situation.
3. There is not much feasibility or practicability in many of their suggestions and little possibility that very many of them will be given opportunities to present their suggestions at the levels where administrative action occurs. Even fewer will be asked to make administrative decisions or direct war or defense activities.

There are probably two pretty basic causes for this plight of the sociologist. He has insisted on dealing with universes with the phenomena of which he has no immediate, personal, and practical acquaintance. Worse yet, he has belittled the knowledge, understanding, and professional stature of persons who do have acquaintance with fields of phenomena that are now important in public and national affairs. Knowing only universes of immense scope in time and space, he would have to be Director of National Morale or Consultant to the President to be satisfied or to feel intellectually at home. This statement does not imply that he might not fill some of these positions tolerably well.

The sociologist may be asked to help with some important jobs if he has previously demonstrated that he can deal with minor components of the situations which he would like to influence. There are undoubtedly many phases of war and defense activity in which he should be able to assist. Community organizations in civilian defense, delinquency and crime, civilian participation and morale, ethnic group problems, personnel and leadership,

health, welfare, and recreation, social statistics and analysis are all fields in which the sociologist is supposed to have superior understanding. Positions in these fields of activity are fairly numerous at this time and are being filled by persons who claim no superior social knowledge.

If as sociologists we are willing to help in these fields, then we should ask ourselves at what levels we understand community organization, recreation, or leadership? I am afraid it is almost altogether on the theoretical level, in a universe of thinking so broad in its frame of reference that our knowledge of social situations and concrete social processes is too thin to be usable by ourselves or anyone else. If some of us would volunteer to work in these fields during the emergency, even though we received no greater compensation than would a private in the Army, we would probably render a service greater than if we volunteered to carry guns. We would almost certainly both use and gain sociological understanding by doing so.

It is highly doubtful that even a sociologist can understand social problems and processes in any way other than as a participant observer. Here is his opportunity. He certainly will be no less a scientist because he proves that he can use his knowledge in fields other than teaching and research.

#### STATEMENT BY WARREN S. THOMPSON

*Miami University (Scripps Foundation)*

Sociologists should be able to contribute to the conduct of national affairs in a variety of ways. Their most general contribution, and possibly their most useful, should be in the realm of helping people to understand the operation of community life and the way in which the individual and the community must work together to get the most out of living. This is chiefly an educational and research job and it seems to me that by and large the sociologist is best fitted by training and experience to contribute to national life in such jobs.

To give this statement a little more substance, I would suggest the following ways in which the sociologist is better qualified than the average man to contribute to a clearer understanding of the problems of personal and social adjustment which are becoming so urgent today: (a) in understanding the attitudes of different (parts) segments of our population toward the problems of national and world import which confront us today; (b) in defining the distinctive characteristics of American life and in showing what institutions and organizations are essential to the maintenance of these characteristics; (c) in making clear the role of the individual in national life and how this role differs in a democracy from that in an authoritarian state; (d) in indicating the ways in which individuals must adjust themselves to the changing structure of the community in order to maintain their essential liberties, their opportunities, and their rights. In saying that the sociologist can make this type of contribution, it is not implied that this is exclusively the sociologist's job, but it is believed that no other group of men is as well prepared to do this particular job.

Such a general statement of the role of the sociologist in national affairs is probably of comparatively little value at a time of emergency since the effects of any work along this line outside what is regularly being done in the classroom will be slow to manifest themselves and may very well be nullified by the more vocal and vigorous efforts of various propaganda organizations. If this should appear the probable situation, then it might be better for the sociologist to confine himself to the

more modest role of contributing what he can to the solution of more concrete and definite problems about which he really has some information not readily available to those who are responsible for particular tasks.

There are certainly many sociologists who are interested in housing and who are better informed on the broad social effects of various types of housing than many of the people who have administrative responsibility for housing projects. It would be a real loss to the nation if these sociologists were not consulted, if their experience and knowledge were not drawn upon to help in the development of housing plans and policies. The specialists in recreation should also be able to contribute suggestions invaluable in formulating a better housing policy. They know the relations between housing and recreation far better than the architects, real estate operators, and administrators who are likely to be in actual charge of housing developments.

Following out the same line of thought, the students of criminology are certainly able to make many useful suggestions to the public authorities in charge of the apprehension and treatment of criminals. Just as soon as these authorities fully realize that the criminal is a product of society, not an isolated individual gone astray, they are bound to see that they are dealing with human beings in all their complicated social relations and that they must get expert advice if they are to deal effectively and helpfully with those who break the law.

There is no need to enlarge much on this general theme that the sociologists can probably be of much use when working on a particular situation with which they are familiar, about which they have a body of knowledge not possessed by the administrator, and concerning which they have accumulated a fund of experience. This is the way in which most experts in the field of science make their contributions to the life of the community and there is no reason to think that the sociologists will do their most useful work in any different manner.

The chemist is generally expected to aid in doing a particular job because he has special knowledge in that field. He is not, as a rule, asked to do work which lies quite outside his specialty, nor is he expected to be able to build an organization capable of turning his knowledge into effective economic or social use. So it is with most other scientists. They are expected to contribute information where they have special competence and not information in general and not to supply administrative procedures. If sociologists were a little more modest in assessing their own abilities in dealing with social situations, confining their pronouncements to areas of life about which they have special knowledge, it is quite likely that the public would have more confidence in them and would more often consult them regarding the problems about which they are really well informed. There is, of course, the peculiar difficulty in using specialists in social science when dealing with different aspects of social behavior that the man in the street is quite apt to believe that he knows as much as the specialist about how all manner of social situations should be dealt with, whereas he would not dream of offering an opinion about how rubber could be made from petroleum, or light waves could be manipulated to locate approaching airplanes. The fact that the actual application of the sociologist's knowledge to a particular situation is generally made by a politician or a public administrator interested chiefly in getting along easily with the public, puts the sociologist at a great disadvantage as compared with a chemist who gets his knowledge applied in an expert manner unadulterated with political and personal considerations. This is not to condemn the public administrator but only to recognize that he labors under handicaps from which the business executive is relatively free. The public administrator must carry the public with him and cannot put the expert's counsel to use unless it fits into the accepted pattern of social attitudes even though it might result in a great increase in the efficiency of the public's business. The business executive, on the other hand, can concern himself chiefly, although by no means exclusively, with

efficiency and quality. As a consequence, the public administrator can only make use of the sociologist as an expert when he is sure that the latter's advice is not too far out of line with public opinion. If the administrator guesses wrong, he, not the expert, is held to account. The use of experts by the public administrator is a fine art about which only a little is known and the sociologist has not yet contributed his share to that little.

STATEMENT BY RAYMOND F. SLETT

*University of Minnesota*

It is difficult to contemplate the events of the past few months without concluding that the United States is so near a state of war that any planning for the future must take account of this eventuality. In many ways our psychosocial environment is already that of a nation at war. Among the psychosocial characteristics of a war period, already much in evidence, are these: the enhancement of such values as those of patriotism, morale, and loyalty; increasing hostility toward dissenting individuals and groups; the growing frequency of psychotic behavior bred from war fears; and the various manifestations of the "live-for-today" philosophy characteristic of youth facing a perilous, uncontrollable future.\*

As social scientists, our first objective in these critical years should be that of preserving our perspective and our integrity. Entrance into the war is almost certain to bring a bombardment of propaganda designed to bolster morale, reduce all dissident groups to impotency, and create enthusiasm for enlistment, the purchase of defense bonds, reduced civilian consumption of military essentials, and the other activities required of a civilian population. Radio, motion pictures, and the press may be expected to join in a program to mold public opinion behind beliefs and ideals judged to be most effective for the winning of the war. Perhaps the church and the school will be called upon to share in this effort. Certain it is that none of us will remain unaffected in our thinking by the stimuli so released.

Under these circumstances, it will be difficult to maintain in our scientific research the objectivity essential for a proper evaluation of evidence, for the separation of fact from opinion, and for the drawing of conclusions unmotivated by a desire to prove something. Sociologists must avoid utterance which in a calmer period will be adjudged to be nonsense produced by minds lacking in scientific perspective. The warping of scientific judgment revealed in the recent writings of many German scientists should be a sufficient object lesson, if the utterances of some of our own social scientists in the last war do not adequately demonstrate this danger.

A second objective should be that of making the most of the opportunities for research provided by the events now in progress. Many of our current research undertakings can be postponed without great loss, but most of the research opportunities now available must be acted upon quickly if we are to obtain and preserve an adequate account of the social changes now in progress.

Accelerated changes are occurring in the field of social attitudes, in the functioning of social institutions, in the operation of social processes and social organizations. Population is on the move; birth, death, marriage, and morbidity rates are being altered; the ecological patterning of cities is changing; families are being made and unmade by the shifting about of population; vast numbers of workers are being re-employed who have been idle for years; and many are being subjected to unusual strains and stresses productive of aberrant behavior.

Large numbers of persons are being elevated quickly in social status through the expansion of the military services and the mushrooming of defense industries. Lead-

\* This statement was written September 15, 1941.

ers are being elevated and demoted and social values are being shaken. Life plans and personal philosophies are being reformed by youth of military age, future stereotypes are in the making, new slogans and epithets are being coined, propaganda agencies are hard at work. The reading and listening habits of the people are changing, children's games are being transformed, and persons of all ages have new interests and subjects of conversation. Public morals can hardly have escaped the impact of the mobilization of millions of men, and women's occupations are being redefined in the light of new demands for skilled labor.

The increasing number of sociologists seeking to contribute through their research to the solution of social problems should find in this period an abundance of opportunities for service to governmental agencies, even though they are not summoned to serve on defense. New governmental programs are raising an almost endless series of problems for research. As examples of such problems, the following may be cited: How can the County Planning Program instituted by the Department of Agriculture be made more effective, and how can rural community planning be brought into sharper focus on the problems of most significance for the advancement of rural welfare? How can these plans, when formulated, be translated more effectively into action, and how can more leaders be developed who will carry through these programs of planning and action? What do rural communities really want these planning groups to do, and how far will they follow their planners?

The food and cotton stamp plans and the program of slum clearance and rehousing represent an attempt to deal with the problems of the "third of the nation that is ill-clad, ill-nourished and ill-housed." Studies to evaluate the effects of these programs are much needed. More studies should be made of their effects on such aspects of human well-being as health, school achievement, family solidarity, morale, delinquency rates, and social participation.

Our Social Security Program, still in a process of rapid evolution, raises many questions for research workers: What unfulfilled needs exist? How great are the needs for these benefits among the groups now excluded categorically from these programs? How is aid to the aged affecting their mental outlook and their family roles? What can be done to obtain for the aged a better standard of living on their income level? How adequate are the provisions for aid to dependent children? What local obstacles are developing to impede impartial administration of the various security programs? How is the assurance of aid during unemployment and old age affecting the outlook of wage earners? Why don't more employers utilize the U. S. Employment Service offices? How are employers' attitudes changing toward the payment of social security taxes? What obstacles stand in the way of wider adoption of the "guaranteed employment plan" and other similar plans to stabilize employment? Where these plans have been adopted, what has been their effect on employer-employee relationships? What do labor union leaders and workers think of these plans?

The activities of defense raise a great many problems on which programs of action may be needed, and on which the preliminary findings of sociologists could be helpful. What effect is the separation of youthful wage earners from their families having upon those left behind? What do parents worry about most when their sons are in camp? How are the vocational plans of high school and college students changing as a result of the new demands for mechanics and other skilled tradesmen? What problems are schools and their teachers in the various fields encountering as a result of defense activities? What are the colleges doing to adjust to their prospective losses in enrollment? How is the presence of large numbers of men from different cultural areas affecting the outlook of people living in the vicinity of camps? How are defense workers reacting to the pressure on them for speed in production? Where defense workers are crowded together in slum areas or are living in trailers or tents, how is this affecting the welfare of their families and their efficiency at work?

The greatest contribution to the nation in this period of crisis may be made by those sociologists who are able to interpret broad social trends, sift current ideational gropings toward a new social philosophy and state emergent social ideals in words which will hasten their acceptance and attainment. We must not underestimate the possibility that the next few years may be characterized by greatly increased public interest in questions of social progress and of desirable goals for national endeavor.

Our people are badly in need of an American social philosophy able to give more meaning to their individual efforts and to sustain them against the adversities ahead. If sociologists can state, in terms that will capture public attention and acceptance, a philosophy and program for the future this might well be their greatest single contribution. Among sociologists there should be some who can do this, if their hesitance to undertake a task of such magnitude can be overcome.

It is suggested that such a statement of American philosophy might rest upon a most careful consideration of the beginnings we have made toward a better social world and upon which we can build for the future.

STATEMENT OF CHARLES S. JOHNSON  
*Fisk University*

The economists and the business world have means of recording the fluctuations in prices. They have likewise numerous other indices that record from day to day the responses of economic society to economic changes. The political sciences, through the medium of the daily press and with the aid of such devices as the Gallup poll, are able to follow with a good deal of accuracy the fluctuations of public opinion in response to current events in the realm of politics. There are, however, profound institutional changes taking place in the structures of American society and in international affairs that are not adequately recorded either in the market reports, in the Gallup poll, nor in any other serial index sufficiently formal to indicate a secular trend.

It is with these customary, cultural, and institutional changes and the problems they involve, that sociologists, it seems, are more concerned directly than are the other social sciences. It is these indices of long-term changes taking place upon different levels of social integration, i.e., the economic, political, and cultural, that tell us what is actually going on in the world.

As an indication of the nature of these institutional changes and of the methods by which they have been and can be studied, I can cite nothing better than Alfred Winslow Jones' *Life, Liberty, and Property*, which was presented in part at last year's meeting of the sociological society. This was conceived as a study of "conflicting attitudes." It is rather, it seems to me, a study of the way in which the concept of property, and particularly corporate property, is changing in response to economic changes, and particularly to changes in the relations of labor and capital in industry.

This change in attitude, which has been in progress over a long period of time, represents a change in the mores. It reflects other long-term changes that are going on all about us, of which we are sensible but which have hitherto not been accessible to measurement. The existence and progress of such long-term trends are important, but even more important is the fact that only in the light of such long-term trends is it possible to assess the importance and the permanence of those minor fluctuations on the surface of contemporary life, i.e., changes in economic conditions, as recorded in the weekly indices of business, and of public opinion as recorded in the Gallup polls.

Russell Davenport, managing editor of *Fortune*, where a portion of Mr. Jones' study was first published, suggests that this book represents a new approach to problems that have troubled philosophers for years. There seems to be hardly any

limit to the problems that might be studied, if not precisely in this manner, at any rate from the point of view indicated in this volume. This is perhaps the opportunity for science to help philosophy find a more authentic answer to some of the problems that have been troubling philosophers.

A number of problems suggest themselves. Students of agriculture in the South have long been interested in changes in land tenure as a result of which the farm laborer, who as a sharecropper or as tenant under some other and different tenure, was more or less permanently attached to the land on which he worked, has tended to become, with the increased use of machinery, a wage laborer, with no sort of tenure or permanent attachment to the soil at all.

This change has profoundly affected not only the traditional economy in which the tenant was reared and to which he was inured, but has, in the case of the Negro at least, profoundly affected his personal habits, including his religious life.

The Negro developed in slavery a religious tradition that not only made life tolerable, more tolerable at least than it would otherwise have been, but gave some sort of direction and imposed some sort of customary restraint upon his intimate personal and family life. That tradition was embodied in his hymns, the spirituals; it was more or less rationalized in his sermons, of which James Weldon Johnson's *God's Trombones* is a literary expression. It has found expression in a religious ritual which copied the forms of religious life by which he was surrounded, but assumed forms like the "shout" which are peculiarly his own. As a social tradition it exercised, as I have indicated, a constraining influence upon individuals and this influence has been, for various reasons, greater than most of us have realized.

When the Negro has migrated to the cities, North or South, he has tended to escape from the restraints that tradition imposed with consequences that are fairly obvious in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other metropolitan cities. Where the day laborer is superseding the sharecropper or the tenant farmer with some other sort of tenure on the plantations in the South, cultural changes are going on comparable with those that have taken place in the northern cities. The rural Negro is being urbanized.

This is one fundamental cultural change which is going on in connection with economic changes, but which is not adequately accounted for in the economic studies we have been accustomed to make. It is a change which concerns the northern cities to which these detached and displaced laborers eventually migrate, quite as much as it does the rural South to which he was habituated. It has assumed the proportion of a national problem. But it is merely one secular change among other related trends, all of which are interrelated and all of them indices of a new social order in process of gestation in the lap of the old.

#### STATEMENT BY DONALD YOUNG

*University of Pennsylvania*

Problems of national defense today and those of reconstruction in years to come obviously demand the best services of scientists in all fields, but the functions of the sociologist are somewhat less evident, more controversial, more easily misinterpreted than those of most of his academic colleagues. These functions, like those of fellow scientists whose concerns are more clearly defined, may be classified as emergency and long-run, though the difference is one of degree not of kind, and both are properly confined to the scientific and intellectual level. Sociologists are immediately implicated in the scientific solution of those pressing problems whose social aspects are commonly recognized as their concern and with which they are best equipped to deal. At the same time, their primary responsibility for discovery and communication of the basic truths of human relationships remains undiminished, although

healthy new emphases and orientations may result from the impact of "unlimited emergency." It may be expected that the total influence will be in the direction of a more realistic sociology.

Many of the immediate problems needing the sociologist's attention will fall into the category of problems of social adjustment in relation to national defense and its aftermath, including determining adequate methods of personnel selection and placement in all phases of defense work, and means of meeting social and personal problems of maladjustment in transition to post-emergency occupations and changed standards of living. Coordinated development and application of vocational aptitude tests before demobilization of the defense structure are the first steps in a program of occupational adjustment. Avoidance of serious maladjustments in other areas of human life as a result of defense dislocations calls for similar cooperative effort on the part of sociologists and other social scientists. The effects of defense migrations; the imminence of stranded populations and communities; unemployment; reduced levels of living; changes in habits of consumption as a result of imposition of restrictions—all pose broad problems of adjustment for the sociologist.

The collection and analysis of data pertinent to such problems by appropriate methods, the projection of trends, and the prediction of results are seen as proper functions of the sociologist, whether carried on in a public or private capacity. The danger is that the sociologist may yield to the temptation to defend his personal value judgments, as so many of his fellow professors have yielded, by calling to witness his Ph. D. and the prestige of his academic connections. It is easy to forget that knowledge permitting the prediction or shaping of events is not decisive in judging whether those events should be encouraged or avoided as a matter of public policy.

## THE INTEGRATION OF SOCIAL RESEARCH IN THE AMERICAS

LUCIO MENDIETA Y NÚÑEZ

*National University of Mexico*

**R**ESPONDING to the kind invitation of Dr. Stuart A. Queen, we have the honor to present this modest essay before this conference of the American Sociological Society.<sup>1</sup> It does not attempt to be of a scientific character but deals with matters of practical importance to sociology.

At first it occurred to us to deal with a strictly sociological theme but we think that scientific congresses meet to deal with practical subjects, with the application of scientific principles, rather than for the discussion of the principles themselves. For the latter, better channels of expression are found in scholarly journals and in books where positions can be expounded more fully and can be studied and meditated upon.

Our paper will deal with the contributions which can be made by sociologists to a better understanding and better defined collaboration between the two great cultures of our continent. Our greatest ambition is to awaken, with this small study, the interest of your scholarly organization in a subject which we believe to be of outstanding importance both for inter-American relations and the development of sociology.

Sociological studies may be classified into two well-defined categories: (1) works based on a consideration of the fundamental problems and hypotheses of sociology; (2) works of social investigation and studies of concrete social facts. The first have for their object the construction of a science of sociology and refer to the content, methods, nature of the science, and to possible generalizations or laws of social phenomena. They are almost always of a speculative character, that is to say, rarely are they rooted in investigations or studies of specific social reality but arise from purely ideological efforts often strongly influenced by a determined philosophy. (Thus, we have had the growth of "pure sociology" and social philosophy.) The second class of works has for its object sociological investigation, meaning social morphology and a description and analysis of social facts with or without an attempt to explain them and to obtain from them the data necessary to plan reforms in the organization and functions of human societies. These works are generally empirical. Their value lies in the fidelity of their empiricism and the scientific rigor of the methods employed to grasp various phases and social expressions in the societies being considered. We believe that the desideratum of sociology is an intimate correlation between the two categories, resulting in theoretical speculation based upon concrete sociological research.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Mendieta y Núñez is Director of the Institute for Social Research at the National University of Mexico and also editor of the *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*. This essay was translated by Clarence Senior, of the University of Kansas City.

Putting aside this difficult and involved question, we wish to deal solely with the position of various countries regarding this fundamental division of sociological studies. In Europe, speculative studies predominate. From there have come almost all the important sociological schools. In America, on the contrary, more importance has been given to social research and investigation. Perhaps this statement is not completely valid in referring to the United States alone but it is indisputably true if one refers to Latin America.

In the Latin American countries, theoretical sociology, constructed deductively, has few exponents. We do not believe that it would be possible to find an original sociological school or sociology founded by a Latin American sociologist. There have been, and are, outstanding sociological works written by distinguished Central and South American intellectuals; but all are didactic, are more or less syntheses of sociology leaning toward some school or tendency, but not constituting a new system.

On the other hand, research into various social aspects of the Indo-Latin countries are quite numerous. The field of the studies varies: they are historical, ethnographic, ethnological, economic. Really, in many cases, if not in all of them, their authors have not undertaken a sociological project. However, whether or not they have done so deliberately, as they have occupied themselves with purely social aspects in their research, the data they gather and the points of view expressed constitute valuable material for later sociological studies. All this material, overwhelming in total in the Latin American countries, awaits methodical arrangement, an evaluating synthesis; awaits, in short, to be used in strictly sociological work.

So much for the past. As for the present, we do not think that the attitude of the intellectuals of Latin America varies much from the above description. Even though, in Brazil principally and in the Argentine Republic, brilliant thought has been focused on theoretical sociology, the Latin Americans continue to be distinguished by their preference for social investigation and the definite themes of applied sociology or of national problems, which in one form or another always have sociological roots. Recently the Argentinian, Professor A. Povina, published a book called *A History of Sociology in Latin America*. From this interesting book, one might take numerous examples supporting the above position.

To what can we attribute this relative indifference of Latin American intellectuals to the cultivation of theoretical sociology as against their special interest in the vital realities of their respective countries? The subject, although of great interest, is outside the scope of the present paper. We wish to point out, however, some aspects of this question. It has been said that the Latin American lacks capacity and aptitude for philosophical creativity and it is possible to deduce from the close relation between philosophy and theoretical sociology their ineptitude in this field. All of

this would lead us into the much-debated problem of race, insoluble, as we see it, because it is impossible for those who discuss it to divest themselves of their racial sentiments. The soundest position which can be adopted in regard to race, we believe, is to accept the idea that certain races, in given social conditions, are more adept at one kind of intellectual or material activities than other races which live in different circumstances.

Social facts involved in a multitude of problems demanding prompt and adequate solutions have exercised an irresistible attraction for Latin American intellectuals. They include the Spanish and Portuguese colonizations, the domination of the Spanish and Portuguese over the aboriginal peoples, the contact of dissimilar cultures, the formation of *mestizo* groups, the integration of new states, the characteristic problems of new societies, the formation of a national spirit, and many others. Among these intellectuals, a small but select group thinks that the study of the special conditions of Latin American societies should furnish sufficient data for the rational planning of the development and integration of their countries.

From this stems the emphasis upon the ethnographic and ethnological studies through which an attempt is made fundamentally to know the Indian groups which still exist in the majority of the Latin American republics. Also, the propensity to describe the various social situations of these countries and to deal with historical, economic, demographic, and educational questions in a political sense, meaning by that the pragmatic, constructive side of situations and of the programs which may be formulated within the state political system and through administrative measures looking toward an improvement of social conditions.

Thus it is that sociological studies which have been made and are being made in Latin America have a special stamp, which perhaps by strict scientific criteria would not allow them to be classified as sociology. This depends, of course, on the point of view one adopts, on the theory one holds.

For many persons, economic, ethnological, ethnographic, and historical studies must be classed within their respective disciplines. They do not understand how it is possible to catalogue them as sociology. Also, those who believe that sociology must concern itself exclusively with what exists in society and not with what should exist will consider much that has been and is being written on social questions in the Latin American countries as foreign to sociology.

Let us analyze separately the ideas set forth above.

Given the nature of sociology, its bonds with the other social sciences, the complexity of all social facts, in which we find economic, religious, racial, and ecological factors intermingled, we believe that it is impossible to make a precise, mathematical division as to what falls within a given social science. It is possible to catalog a certain study or piece of research, for example, within the science of law if the author's aim was to carry out

a legal study and the content is primarily juridical. However, if the author, straying a little from commenting on a law, from its interpretation, from strictly legal considerations, deals with historical and social antecedents and with the interests which give rise to the law; if further, he shows the influence which the law produced in social relations, its evolution and modification as a result of new situations, then in these respects the study will be a document of sociological value notwithstanding its juridical material.

This example will illustrate our viewpoint on the first idea. Thus we consider that there are in Latin America many sociological data scattered among books, articles in reviews, and in daily newspapers. Often, we repeat, their authors never intended to produce sociology; but sociology does not depend on the intention of the author but on the intrinsic value of the work. There are many works which are indisputably sociological, written before the rise of sociology as a separate science. In this, we find the majority of the sociologists of highest prestige in agreement. In the whole history of sociology are found references to the writers of Greek and Roman antiquity and of the Middle Ages as precursors, in a way, of the new science.

An examination of the second idea leads us necessarily to the division of sociology into pure and applied.<sup>2</sup> Our thinking on this point perhaps can best be understood if we consider the similarity between sociology and medicine. Medicine is based upon strictly scientific procedures, but abstract as they may be in some aspects, they always have application to the ills of mankind as their immediate aim. It can be said that it is so conditioned by this urgency that in many cases, before complete purification of scientific concepts has been achieved, or the origin of certain diseases fully known, methods or medicine for combating or curing them have been found. So with sociology. This science also has a double aspect: theoretical and practical. But it is the possibility of finding in a profound knowledge of the structure and function of society an adequate formula for the collective life which passionately attracts not only the intellectuals who have dedicated themselves to this discipline but also those who cultivate the sciences which necessarily merge into it in one way or another.

Sociology, like medicine, is conditioned by immediate necessities, must outline provisional theories and methods until better ones are found. In no other sense may we speak of an applied sociology. Only this way may we explain the paradox of the application of a science which does not yet exist definitely constructed and universally accepted. Sociology has value only insofar as it is immediately useful in some form or other in social life.

<sup>2</sup> We speak of pure sociology as the science itself built up without reference to practical application, whatever may be the philosophy or doctrine sustaining it. Therefore this designation has nothing in common with the "pure sociology" of Simmel or of Vierkandt and other authors who have named their systems pure sociology as a means of ranking them above empirical sociology.

This makes it exceedingly difficult, especially in Latin America, for the writer or sociologist to separate in his work that which *is* from that which *should be*, the present fact from the possible ideal. But this circumstance should not cause us to reject a literature which in many of its works has undeniable sociological value. Definitely to complete a discussion of this point, the extent of influence the "should be" has on scientific progress would have to be studied. Even in the field of industrial technology, many marvelous inventions, before their definite realization, were found only in the collective mind, in the genius of the past generations as hopes and as obscure tendencies arising from existing nonconformity and looking toward the future "should be."

We arrive then at the conclusion that in Latin America there is an abundance of sociological works whose fundamental characteristics lie in their reference to reality, to concrete problems of the various countries. But abundance and quality are not synonymous. Because of the superabundance of sociological materials, it is necessary, especially in Latin America, to adopt two well defined attitudes: (1) one refers to the carefully selected use and the careful revision of existing sociological works, particularly in order to build a sociology for each country; (2) the other refers to future sociological work in the Latin American countries.

It is true, as we see it, that the research work and empirical studies which characterize our sociology have value and interest. They are particularly healthy, in contrast with the philosophizing of the armchair sociologists, since they focus upon the living reality of social life. But we well realize that in sociological efforts in Latin America there is confusion and lack of preparation. If we wish the new science to be fruitful in our countries, it is necessary to guide our researches with scientific rigor and to orient some of them toward the all-important general themes of sociology and others toward the fundamental social problems of each republic. It is necessary also to establish an understanding as to aims and methods by means of close and constant relations between various intellectual centers of the continent dedicated to this work.

In many cases it will be necessary to start with the creation of such centers. Although sociology is taught in all the law faculties of the Latin American countries, most of the countries have no institution specifically charged with conducting sociological studies. Perhaps this is due to defective pedagogy. The teaching of sociology in a majority of our universities is deficient; it is considered as a complementary science in studies leading to a law degree in the belief that only thus is it related to the legal profession. Its teaching consists, generally, in an historical exposition of sociology and a comparative study of different schools of sociology. Only rarely do we find countries, such as Chile and Brazil, in which sociology courses include a treatment of the social reality of the country.

So far as methods of social research and their practical application are

concerned, nothing, absolutely nothing, is taught in the Latin American universities. Recently some sociologists, such as Dr. Renato Treves in Argentina, and the members of the Institute for Social Research of the University of Mexico, have attempted something in this field.

Thus we arrive at the conclusion that in Latin America we have a mountain of scattered works of sociological interest of which we have not yet taken advantage. More important, it should be noted that while we may continue increasing this store of material, faulty methods, absence of well-defined orientation and lack of collaboration and coordination in study and research in the Indo-Latin countries will result in a lack of use of material which might be extraordinarily valuable to sociology.

Thus we see the necessity and utility of increasing the amount and improving the concepts of sociological work in Latin America. Permit us to attempt a contribution to the resolution of some of these problems by the submission to this Thirty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society and to all of the sociologists of the continent the following program of action: (A) the promotion of the creation of Sociological Societies or Institutes in each of the Latin American countries where none now exists; (B) the founding of an Inter-American Sociological Society, with headquarters in Mexico City, with which each of the Latin American Societies or Institutes could affiliate; (C) establish close and constant relations between the Inter-American Sociological Society and the affiliated Institutes or Societies in all of the Latin American countries, by means of an interchange of publications, news and research works; (D) establish close and constant relations, by the methods indicated, between the Inter-American Sociological Society and the Institutes and Societies of Sociology in the United States of North America; (E) the fundamental purposes of the Inter-American Sociological Society would be to: (1) send important bibliographic information on sociology to all its members; (2) strive for the unification of research methods and teaching programs in all the universities; (3) direct sociological research toward a definite number of the fundamental sociological themes and social problems of each country; (4) establish a translation service so that the fundamental sociological works in other languages may be published in Spanish, even though only in mimeographed editions; (5) maintain a service for the interchange of both published and unpublished sociological works resulting from the activities of the Societies or Institutes affiliated with the Inter-American Society; (6) organize commissions of outstanding sociologists and students from Latin American countries and the United States of North America to carry on studies in selected places throughout the continent; (7) organize regular Inter-American meetings or Congresses for the discussion of vital points in social research and organization. Finally, we believe that this great continental sociological organization should be founded on a scientific point of view and run exclusively from a pragmatic standpoint.

Unity of methods, an orientation toward a limited number of subjects, current information on what is happening in the world, all based on the needs of sociologists, will have as an immediate result in Latin America the raising of the scientific and practical value of the studies now being carried on. Recorded observations of the same social facts in the various countries, systematically formulated and organized, would constitute an invaluable mass of material for the comparison of social facts and social institutions and would permit sociologists to arrive at valid scientific generalizations and conclusions.

Let us suppose that the study theme recommended to all of the sociological institutions of Latin America were one concerning the social classes, their formation, their influence in the political organization of each country, their mutual relations, their forms of struggle or cooperation. In a few years, we would have a series of monographs on the social classes of each country described and analyzed similarly so that sociologists working on these data would have the task of synthesis and generalization enormously simplified.

Another theme might be democracy. Today we in America speak insistently of democracy. We confront the menace of totalitarianism (Fascism, Nazism, and Communism) with democracy; but to what extent does it live, to what extent have we realized it in the Central and South American States? In some of them, it is no more than a farce, in others we come close to the democratic ideal. However, it cannot be doubted that there is at least some disillusionment about democracy; it cannot be doubted that it has languished as a political force and that this is due in the Latin American countries to a considerable degree because they have not known a real democratic regime. To study how closely they have approached democracy, the social causes of its weakness, and the forces which oppose its full realization would be a labor much more serious and fruitful than all of the discourses in which the glories of democracy are, too often, a mask for hypocrisy. When we have achieved a well-informed view of the present state of Democracy in Latin America by means of a series of monographs and studies, most certainly we shall obtain both scientific and practical results of incalculable value.

These are merely examples of the subjects which might be developed in a systematic fashion by the continent-wide, scientific organization which we propose.

From the practical point of view it is evident that such constant, organized, directed collaboration by all the centers of research and sociological studies will increase mutual knowledge and understanding and will strengthen the bonds of solidarity which should exist between the peoples of Latin America. Because the truth is that these peoples do not know one another. Lack of roads and other means of material communication, and the absence of an interchange of scientific and cultural information are two of the principal causes for this lack of mutual knowledge. Between the

Latin American peoples there are sentimental bonds of sympathy based on vague ideas of fundamental historical background, in the most widely used official language, in certain ideas of a community of interests maintained more than by anything else by art. The Latin American peoples know the works of their great poets, their outstanding novelists who have succeeded in crossing frontiers and forming spiritual ties; but a real, factual knowledge, based on an understanding of social structure and fundamental social problems is practically nil.

If this is true of the countries of similar origin and language, it can be understood how much greater is the lack of knowledge and understanding between Latin America and North America. From the movies, we have obtained a false idea of your great country. We scarcely know the great works of your poets and novelists, even those which have been translated into Spanish. The English language sometimes has a certain influence in the world of business affairs, but it has little influence in our intellectual and artistic life. This statement may be confirmed by obtaining data on the number of magazines and books published in the United States which are sold in each Latin American country. From this number, one would subtract those which are bought by North Americans or Englishmen residing in those countries, and thus arrive at one factor which could be used in estimating the influence to which we refer. In the field of sociology, we can assert that only the works of Giddings and Ward, translated into Spanish, have had an appreciable circulation. The works of the outstanding recent sociologists are almost entirely unknown since we hear of them only through the commentaries of an occasional university professor of sociology.

The United States has not assigned any real importance to cultural relations with Latin America. Now that the menace of the totalitarian countries is seen on the horizon, it is attempting to establish the new policy of the "good neighbor" because finally it is understood that the safety of the country is seriously jeopardized by the weakness of its neighbors! Actually, the North American territory is probably well protected, it being practically impossible to invade its coasts. But it could be attacked via Latin American territory. It might even be possible for enemy naval bases to be established and military units located with the cooperation and sympathy of the countries in which there is popular resentment against North Americans based on well-known past events and on present-day commercial and industrial activity of imperialist tendencies.

The general feeling of Indo-America toward of the United States of the North is that expressed by the Peruvian Jorge Patron Irigoyen in his article, "The Present and Future of Latin America" which appeared in the *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1941. He considers that "imperialism has deformed our economy atrociously" as an exploiter of both labor and natural resources of Mexico and Central and South America. He continues: "From the exploitation of the Indoamerican in the mines,

on the coffee plantations, in the rubber forests and the oil fields have arisen the great (Anglo) Saxon riches which have sustained at our expense and even in luxury the aristocracy of labor in the metropolis."

Thus, the "good neighbor" policy is just a phrase. In order to convert it into reality, it would be necessary to erase the resentment and mistrust which are the barriers separating the Anglo-American from the Latin American. And this may be brought about only by means of mutual knowledge, without which mutual understanding, essential to any feeling of solidarity, is impossible.

The scientific organization which we propose would be of great value to the growing relations between the two cultures. It would enable Latin America to know the most valuable of the North American thinking, it would reveal that, in spite of appearances, all is not prosperity and grandeur in the Anglo Saxon countries, that they also have their difficulties. At the same time, it would enable the United States to know the intellectual values of Latin America, its social structure, its problems, so that your powerful country may orient its policies toward effective cooperation. For when one of the great foundations of the United States discovers and reconstructs Maya ruins in Mexico or studies the terrible diseases which are found in certain regions of Mexico and Central and South America, it contributes much more toward building inter-American friendship than all the propaganda speeches which are being made.

The situation between the United States and Latin America is exactly like that of two boyhood friends who meet in later life, one rich and powerful, the other less fortunate. While the rich man displays his wealth before the poor man, he will achieve nothing but the latter's humiliation, especially if he exploits him; but if he makes use of his good fortune to aid the poor friend, in a dignified manner, if he understands and admires and justly evaluates his qualities, then the economic differences fade away and a loyal and noble friendship will remain.

The United States of North America needs to know more about the conduct of its great businesses in the Latin American countries, the extent to which its policies, its commerce and its industry have been spread upon the Latin American waters to return laden with gold—but also with hate. For only through a realization of the obstacles which divide the two great cultures of the Continent, in order to destroy them, will we reach the Inter-American ideal.

Finally, let us note that it will be fairly easy to create the Sociological Societies or Institutes in the Latin American countries, usually in connection with the universities, but it will be extremely difficult, for economic reasons, to create the central nucleus, the Inter-American Sociological Society. This great organization must be independent of all official influence from the governments of the various countries if we wish to carry on work

of any scientific value. The subject-matter of sociology and its material are so intimately linked with public life that it must maintain itself entirely aside from militant politics. If not, it will be warped and falsified by personal and party interests. Therefore, a powerful private source of permanent financing is needed if the Inter-American Sociological Society is to be founded. It is not possible now to find this source in Latin America.

Given this unfavorable circumstance, gentlemen, our project is only a dream. We hope, though, that it will be considered a beautiful dream, but not less valuable from the scientific and pragmatic viewpoint for being one. We repeat that many great realities of today were only yesterday hopes and dreams.

## DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL CONTROLS IN INDUSTRY

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**I**N HIS RECENT BOOK, *The Managerial Revolution*, James Burnham<sup>1</sup> offers a provocative, if rather dogmatic, picture of our economic future. Both here and in Europe, says Burnham, we are witnessing a shift from private capitalism in which the "ownership class" controlled the economy to a new type of organization in which the managers will rule. In Europe, the managers are at present represented by the party bosses who have taken over control of government and industry: Stalin and the party commissariat; Hitler and his Nazi chieftains; and in lesser supporting roles, Mussolini, Franco, Laval, and their satellites. In the United States, Burnham sees the managerial revolution in two developments. These are the New Deal on the one side, with its emphasis on administrative rather than legislative control; and on the other hand, management of industry being divorced from the ownership class (the capitalists) with the managers in the ascendency. Moreover, he sees in the various "defense control agencies," such as the Office of Production Management, the merger of industrial and governmental management which forecasts the future pattern. It follows, of course, that Burnham sees no future for democracy—if indeed he sees any past or present for it.

One can agree that management control and economic planning are moving into positions of greater significance both in economic and political life without accepting the conclusion that democracy is out, or that the managers will constitute the controlling economic class. In an effort to be "objective" and "realistic," Burnham tosses aside as irrelevant, the ideologies, the hopes, beliefs, and attitudes of men and concentrates on certain similarities in economic changes which are taking place throughout the world. The "ideologies" or attitudes of the masses of the people are manufactured for them by the controlling groups—to suit the latter's objectives. Thus, all of the business about individual liberty and the freedom of enterprise was devised by capitalists to condition the masses to that form of economic control. Present talk about security, sacrifice, social obligation, etc., is promoted by the managers who are shoving the capitalists away from the dinner table, but have no intention of sharing anything but the crumbs with the numerous "servants in the house." On this basis, we find not only American industrial management and New Deal agency bureaucrats in the same backyard (much to their consternation), but they are both playing the same game as Hitler and Stalin. That these groups

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<sup>1</sup> James Burnham, *The Managerial Revolution*, New York, 1941.

may be so blinded to their real objectives as to fight each other in both economic and military warfare seems both stupid and irrelevant to the cynical Mr. Burnham.

In dismissing the attitudes, beliefs, and convictions of men as inconsequential and entirely controlled by the "ruling classes," Burnham is himself quite unrealistic. If we go back two centuries to the period of stress which culminated in the emergence of private capitalism in the economic field, we are forced to recognize a parallel change in the social and political field of equal or greater significance. The political and social turmoil which resulted in the acceptance of the rights of self-government and individual liberty found expression in the French Revolution, the American Revolution, and the initiation of constitutional government in the United States of America. So long as these two movements, private capitalism and political democracy, ran along in parallel lines without conflicting objectives, proposals for changing our economic system fell on deaf ears. When maturing capitalism introduced corporate controls as a means of restricting free competition and securing certain advantages of monopoly, points of conflict began to develop between the economic order and the institutions of political democracy. As monopoly controls clashed with individual liberties and resulted in concentration of control over income and wealth and eventually threatened control of political and social institutions, the resistance of the people who believed in political and social democracy increased. Were Burnham's conclusion correct, that democratic ideals were interest serving slogans devised by capitalist owners to secure acquiescence of the masses, one might expect resistance to decrease as the drug took effect!

Some of the forms of protest against the concentration of economic controls under capitalism consisted of proposals to substitute some variety of Marxian socialism for private capitalism. It may be conceded that Burnham's conclusion that we will not now move to Marxian socialism is probably a correct prediction. Two points should be noted in this connection, however. The first is that the workers' proposals to substitute some form of socialism for private capitalism do not reflect a dissatisfaction with political and social democracy. The dissatisfaction is with a form of economic organization which fails to permit realization of democratic objectives. The second point is that the present world conflict between the Axis powers on the one hand and Britain, the United States, and Russia on the other doesn't make sense in terms of a "managerial revolution." It does make sense in terms of an ideological struggle between authoritarian and democratic objectives. Russia's flip-flop typifies her mixed status on these ideological matters.

That the future economic arrangements will involve larger managerial influence and more social and economic planning is clear, but that the present struggle is meaningless and will have no bearing on the future form of economic and political life is fundamentally wrong. The choice lies be-

tween a managerial revolution and a managerial "evolution," or better, between the imposition of totalitarian controls over all institutions, economic, political, and social, and a gradual adjustment toward a planned economy, part government operated, part under private management, with the consent, and control of a democratic electorate.

As our capitalistic economy developed, it has tended to create certain frictions as a result of expansion and has shown a tendency unduly to concentrate control of purchasing power with a resultant failure to serve the needs of society effectively. Private capitalism has been dynamic; it has provided the incentive for growth and expansion of productive capacity to an unprecedented degree; but its very growth is dependent on continued investment in new industries and new economic outlets. This process of continued investment is the root of much of the instability in our system. A. H. Hansen has indicated that three conditions have made possible the expanding investment in our capitalistic economy: first, the expansion of territory and the discovery of new resources; second, population growth; and third, technical inventions and improvements.

The first two of these essential conditions are disappearing and we must face a maturing or stabilizing economy. This does not mean that progress must cease. On the contrary, there is every reason to stimulate technical improvements which can offer great opportunity for industrial development. Nevertheless, the rate of growth is bound to be slower and everyone's attention appropriately turns to matters of security and equitable participation in the benefits of production. As Hansen has pointed out,<sup>2</sup> in a more mature and less rapidly expanding economy, a larger proportion of the national income should be spent for consumers goods and services and a smaller proportion is needed for investment in productive capacity. It may also be noted that while the shift to a more mature economy slows up the rate of expansion, it also eliminates or reduces some of the most serious frictions, notably those connected with business cycles. The business cycle is a phenomenon connected with the rapid expansion of capitalist investment in productive capacity and we may anticipate that stabilization of investment coupled with current expenditure of the greater part of our purchasing power will minimize the swings of the cycle.

It is pertinent to ask what the respective roles of government and private industry will be in such a maturing economic society. In the first place, it is obvious that there will be an increase in government participation in economic life. On the consuming side, i.e., in the matter of distribution of purchasing power, government is increasingly stepping in to correct initial inequities. Such government participation takes the form of tax supported subsidies to low income groups (unemployment, old age and farm relief, and the various aspects of social security), provision of public work pro-

<sup>2</sup> A. H. Hansen, *Fiscal Policy and Business Cycles*, Ch. XVII, New York, 1941.

grams and publicly supported facilities for health, education, and recreation. Government control of wage standards is another instance. Further expansion in this phase of government activity seems likely.

Moreover on the side of production, larger government participation appears inevitable. In recent years, private capital, as well as manpower, has been extensively unemployed. In a rapidly expanding economy supported by new and developing resources, increasing population, and technological improvements, the returns on private investment are sufficient to attract and utilize savings profitably. As the economy matures and investment returns decline, it is doubtful if certain types of needed capital investment will be able to offer returns attractive to private savers. In these instances, government may have to take over the capital investment function in order to serve the needs of the people. In such cases, management, which is even now so largely divorced from ownership or investment, would serve public rather than privately owned corporations or agencies. It seems probable that the necessity for government investment (and therefore government operation) will develop first in the fields of transportation, communication, and public utilities connected with the use of important natural resources. In the transportation field, we already have government investment and management in the highways and waterways, with a high degree of government regulation of rail, air, and water traffic. In communication, we have the postal service operated by the government and the other agencies such as radio, telephone, and telegraph closely regulated. In the general public utility field, T.V.A. points the way toward the type of public corporation which may increasingly become responsible for the management of our essential natural resources. T.V.A. also points the way toward a system of cooperative contractual arrangements between the sections of the economy operated under public and under private control and management.

We believe it is essential to the maintenance of balance in our economic arrangements, that the bulk of our producing economy be operated under private management. In the fields of manufacturing, distribution, finance, and services, there are still great possibilities of technical advancement as Charles F. Kettering so eloquently proclaims. These opportunities should be sufficiently remunerative to attract private investment. Moreover, we are convinced that even with a narrower range of financial return available to management, the incentives to progress and efficiency remain potent. The professionalizing of management and its gradual divorce from ownership have proceeded far enough to establish this point. In this same development lies the hope of attracting capable management into public enterprise. The existence of private industrial management opportunity will serve as an important corrective to the bureaucratic tendencies inherent in government operation. There remains, however, the vitally important problem of maintaining and extending democratic ideals and procedures both in

government and private business—so that the managers do not simply take over and fulfill the dire “wave of the future” prophecies of Mr. Burnham.

First of all, let us recognize that the prospect of increasing managerial and planning responsibility both in government and private industry is not incompatible with democracy. On the contrary, as control of our economic society passes from the private investor-owners to responsible management, we take a step toward democratic objectives. Privilege gives way to merit and capacity and surely society gains thereby. The strongest characteristic of our private capitalistic economy lay in the opportunity offered to anyone of capacity to develop an idea and to manage the industry realizing that idea. It is when control of industrial opportunity passes to vested interests whose only function is capital investment, that democracy is eliminated. The democratic opportunity to move into the managerial class, either in government or business, is still a reality in our economic system. There is nothing in democracy which runs counter to the idea of management by persons chosen on the basis of comparative capacity so long as all participants in the group retain a voice in choosing the managers or representatives and hold the power of removal or repudiation.

It is not enough, however, to say that the changing economic arrangements do not necessarily conflict with democracy. Certain aspects of the greater centralization of planning and control which characterize the current trend in industry and government make it easy for nondemocratic groups to seize and maintain control of society unless democratic procedures and ideals are firmly established. How are we to assure the extension of democratic principles in private industry and in government? In both of these areas, the realistic approach, we believe, is to build slowly on existing procedures and institutional arrangements which have proven to be democratic in operation. Just as we cannot protect ourselves from the risks which accompany social change by blindly and desperately clinging to the old order, so also it is immature to discard existing institutions completely in the hope of substituting a ready-made Utopia.

What do we have in the way of democratic machinery in our present industrial system? We have already suggested that the gradual displacement of ownership control of industry and commerce by management control has democratic implications. A professional management has closer ties to the workers in industry than does an ownership class increasingly based on inherited wealth. Technical competence may be inherited in some degree but it springs from backgrounds in all walks of life and cannot become a “vested interest” controlled by the “sixty families.” Moreover, it is not too much to hope that wise management, as it faces the larger future problems of economic and industrial planning, will be capable of adjusting to a new balance of purchasing power which will be fairer and socially more efficient.

In its early fumbling efforts to develop a basis of dealing with the workers in industry, management was guilty of perpetrating some patronizing frauds under the name of industrial democracy. The first personnel programs in industry, and indeed many of the so-called employee relations policies of the 1920's, were in this class. They were either insincere efforts to sell the workers "welfare activities" in place of better wages and a voice in industry, or were well meaning programs based on management's belief that what the worker really wanted was a chance to work up to the managerial class. In either case, the programs missed fire and failed to satisfy the workers' desires.

During the past decade, despite the squawking, management has become much more realistic about the share which labor must have both in the management of industry and in the financial returns therefrom. The two factors responsible for this change in attitude are, of course, the growing strength of organized labor as a force within industry and the vast range of protective labor legislation under the New Deal. The legislation has strengthened labor's position as a participant in industry and in addition has directly redistributed purchasing power for the benefit of the workers in the low income brackets. While resisting this general trend, industrial management has been much more realistic and adaptable to the new arrangements than have the capitalist owners. The apoplectic hatred of the New Deal is concentrated largely among the owners of invested capital, although it is echoed by the industrial managers who face with reluctance the readjustments many of them know are inevitable.

During recent years the growth of labor organization provides another democratic instrumentality in industry. Doubtless to many people (not limited to capitalists!) the idea that labor unions are democratic agencies is a ghastly joke. It must be admitted that the ways of John L. Lewis with the United Mine Workers, or the activities of many of the leaders of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Unions, are not the perfect prototypes of democratic behavior! Nor do the records of the Willie Bioffs and the George E. Brownes offer much encouragement to believers in democracy. Nevertheless, in the organized labor movement, the workers in industry have been developing a piece of machinery designed to serve the democratic purpose of effective representation of the largest group of participants in industry. Moreover, with few exceptions, the unions are fundamentally democratic in that control rests with the members, not with the officers. American unionism is also based on the premise that management plays a part in industry and is entitled to a share in returns.

Slowly, as unionism has gained strength it has evolved forms of organization and methods of procedure which will better serve the needs of industrial democracy. The industrial union, which seems destined to displace the narrower craft organization in much of our economy, is better suited to full

representation of all participating workers in an industry. Moreover, it is freer from restrictive and divisive practices such as jurisdictional disputes and limitations on membership. Other hopeful signs may be found in the substitution of union-management-contractual methods for indiscriminate strike and direct pressure devices. There is also a steady growth in the use of peaceful negotiative methods including mediation and voluntary arbitration.

At the present juncture, labor needs to accept a larger degree of responsibility to accompany its increasing share of industrial control and its improving economic position. It is natural that a disadvantaged group should reach for as large a share of power and income as possible when conditions (including legislation) make it possible, but failure on the part of labor leadership to match up labor's objectives with the requirements of general social welfare will necessitate social controls to curb such leadership. As a specific illustration, these controls may soon involve the right to strike on defense production, as well as limitation on profits from the same activity.

Looking ahead, it seems logical to anticipate that managerial control of industrial enterprise coupled with a maturing labor union movement, organized along industrial lines, may provide the basis for future industrial democracy. The evolution will be slow, but it will be forced by the pressure of increasing social controls exercised through government. Some of this pressure will take the form of direct legislative controls such as the Wage-Hour Law, the Labor Relations Acts, expanded social security provisions and heavily progressive taxation. Certain indirect controls may be exercised through "yardstick competition" of government corporations with private business. There seems reason to believe that both management and labor in a government-owned enterprise (such as T.V.A.) will move faster toward a democratic operating procedure since the income differentials are smaller and the management is not tied closely to a profit-making objective. The threat of substituting government investment and operation in new fields of activity will serve as an incentive to democratic procedure in private industry. The alternative of organizing industry along "consumers' and producers' cooperative" lines may likewise exercise some influence on private business. As the income differentials decrease under the pressure of progressive taxation, wage minimums, and price adjustments, the appeal of the cooperative movement may increase.

The real pressure, however, will come from government. How can we be sure that the increasingly powerful government will not escape democratic controls and let the Hitler brand of bureaucratic managers take over society? That there is a real risk here is evident in what has happened in Europe. There is, of course, a decided trend toward administrative domination of government activities. With the growing multiplicity of government agencies and functions, it has become impossible for the legislative

bodies to do more than establish general policy, leaving the formulation of detailed regulations as well as the execution of programs to administrative agencies. This tendency has paralleled a similar development in industry where the boards of directors, representing ownership control, have of necessity restricted themselves to the formulation of general policy, leaving much administrative discretion to management. In many instances, the boards of directors become mere agencies for the ratification or rejection of policies proposed by management.

The founders of this republic recognized the dangers in concentration of power and authority in the hands of a few people. Accordingly, they provided a series of checks and balances and a division of powers and functions between the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary. In the new situation which we face in government, safety lies partly in the same principle of division of powers and functions. We cannot have the necessary streamlining of our government and retain the degree of detailed legislative control which was once possible. It is necessary to provide for considerable administrative discretion and for organized planning of economic and social programs. At the same time, the legislative bodies which are most directly responsible to the people must retain the power of approval and veto on all matters of general policy. Some protection of the public interest lies in the probability that the planning and the administrative functions will be discharged by different groups of individuals. We have already indicated a belief that social and economic planning must play a larger part in government. This means that a central planning agency is necessary, deriving its fundamental authority from public recognition of its scientific and professional competence, whatever the appointing source. Perhaps the proper balance would be best assured by having appointments to the planning agency made by the executive, with the agency developing policy for legislative review and approval. The courts should continue to exercise a stabilizing and corrective influence.

In the final analysis, the preservation of democracy in an increasingly powerful government structure depends on an awakened public interest and a willingness on the part of the citizenship to accept public responsibility. Democracy is at its best in organized community life in this nation. At the local level, competent citizens willingly serve on school boards, library committees, planning agencies, educational forums, community drives, and welfare activities. When it comes to elective office, we have a bad tradition and likewise in appointments to many of the positions in the administrative divisions. It seems likely that in appointments to planning agencies, we may anticipate a high average of technical competence. In the administrative agencies, the extension of the merit system principle is encouraging but a more important factor is likely to be the increasing prestige and economic significance of the responsibilities discharged by the government agencies. The ambitious and capable young people who are

trying to choose a career these days are adding public administration to business and professional opportunities in the range of choice.

We need to take some steps to make legislative responsibilities more attractive to capable representatives of the public interest. Elimination of some of the fusty and obstructive procedures characterizing these bodies would help. Antiquated rules and cumbersome machinery seem to serve the interests of the demagogue better than those of the conscientious legislator. No doubt more adequate compensation would help in the states and such reforms as the one-house legislature may be in order. Basically, however, the answer lies in the willingness of some of the same leaders who accept local civic responsibility, to accept the assignment of representing the people in state and national legislatures. Public esteem of the legislatures will rise with the caliber of the representatives. There is nothing inherently second-rate about public office!

As we contemplate the immediate future, it is obvious that steps must be taken to reduce unemployment and increase the effective utilization of productive capacity in our economic system. Some of them involve rather drastic modifications in our methods of distributing purchasing power within the industrial mechanism. Others envision an increase in government planning and control of our economy. Yet we believe that these changes are entirely possible of achievement within the democratic pattern. Indeed, it is our profound conviction that unless such steps are taken to eliminate the spectre of unemployment, the people of the earth will abandon democratic institutions in a desperate search for economic security.

The whole vigorous history of our American democracy gives assurance that we will succeed in modifying and improving our economic order by an extension of the democratic procedures and controls which have highlighted our political evolution.

## FREE SPEECH IN WAR TIME\*

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**I**NTRODUCTION. In 1914, this society devoted its meeting to considering "Freedom of Communication." Some members here present took part in the discussion. Since that time the United States engaged in a world war, and now has entered a second. What we have learned from such experience remains to be seen. New instruments of communication have been developed; new rules controlling their use have been established. How are old principles of civil rights affected by these changes? Do they remain unaltered in theory, though modified in practice?

Within the time allotted, it is impossible for me to survey the whole field of civil liberties, even in one country, for a period of twenty-seven years. It seems more reasonable to limit this paper to a sketch of concepts regarding freedom of speech in the United States, as an example of civil rights. In particular, I shall try to show how free speech is abridged in war time. Such treatment may lead to consideration of how social scientists can maintain freedom of communication about their special studies today.

*I. Definitions.* To make discussion profitable, we must agree to use common terms with more precise meaning than men in the street usually give them. For that purpose, I venture to submit a diagram showing the relation of ideas employed in this paper. Although such definition may not prove acceptable, its clarity enables critics to determine just how the logical framework should be amended.

### REGULATION THROUGH GOVERNMENT

#### *Character of Control*

Means of Control	ARBITRARY	AUTHORITARIAN	REASONABLE	Scope of Autonomy
	PERSONAL INITIATIVE			
LAW	CIVIL RIGHTS		LIBERTY	
FORCE	PHYSICAL POWER		NECESSITY	
	AUTOCRACY	OLIGARCHY	DEMOCRACY	

#### *Base of Government*

Beginning with Aristotle's classification of governments according to the number of persons who share in them, we divide the base line into three

\* Written before the author had an opportunity of reading Professor Chafee's new book, *Free Speech in the United States*, Cambridge, Mass., 1941. Students of law are referred to that book for analysis of recent cases cited therein.

sections—*Autocracy*, *Oligarchy*, and *Democracy*. The vertical axis, indicating means of enforcing the policy of governments, is spaced at three levels—*Force*, *Law*, and *Opinion*.

Above each column is indicated a characteristic of social control typical in that form of political organization, namely, *Arbitrary* (as the pronouncements of a dictator), *Authoritative* (as the code of a ruling class), and *Reasonable* (as the conduct of a popular assembly). Obviously, such traits are not unmixed in any form of government, but merely serve to emphasize distinctive qualities found in each. Their arrangement suggests a relation between psychological responses and political conditions that elicit them.

On the right of each horizontal stripe is placed a term expressing the scope of personal action under that mode of social constraint. We assume that superior physical force compels an individual to submit of *Necessity*; that recognized legal rights give him a field within which to exercise *Civil liberty*; and that valid opinion, based upon partial evidence or inconclusive reasoning, requires *Freedom* to weigh possible alternatives. Let us call these cross strips zones of *Power*, *Rights*, and *Initiative* respectively.

We neither assert or deny that nature binds men with inexorable laws; that existing codes are divinely ordained; nor that human beings are independent spiritual entities. We are concerned with people now living in this country under a government that recognizes certain common claims and employs various methods to establish them. As a nation, we prefer a changing combination of measures to obtain both collective security and self-determination. Apparently, these ideals overlap, and at times oppose each other.

If we regard this logical chart as a projection of a sphere of discourse from the equator toward its south pole, we can use it to locate the position of a ship of state. Evidently, a critical point for navigation is to find the latitude where civil liberty gives place to personal freedom. It is also important to know when popular government crosses the vague bounds between reasoned consent and imposed restraint. My purpose is to offer some description of the line between *Law* and *Opinion* as illustrated by the control of public speech in a *Democracy*.

*II. Limitations of Freedom.* We may agree, I hope, that no man has an inherent right to say whatever he pleases at any time or place. If so, we can avoid a fruitless debate about absolutes as defined by individual imagination. Words spoken within the hearing of other persons may injure or destroy the usefulness of members of a group. So we have laws to check abusive and slanderous language. Apparently, such measures limit the use of speech in public by common consent. Offensive blasphemy and obscenity seem to be regarded now as violations of public order and are dealt with according to circumstances much like drunkenness and indecent exposure. Here police power certainly restrains exuberant expression.

More to the point for our discussion are laws against treason and sedi-

tion. The Constitution defines treason as consisting "only in levying war against [the United States], or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."<sup>1</sup> The section continues: "No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court." This statement makes clear the nature of the offense (overt acts against the government), and also the method of legal procedure (trial in open court). There has never been serious questioning of the purpose and operation of these measures to protect the nation.

The Sedition Act of 1798 authorized the punishment of any person who uttered or published statements with intent to oppose the government, to defame the President or the houses of Congress, or to weaken their authority among the people.<sup>2</sup> Its harsh enforcement brought about defeat of the Federalist party and lapse of the law under Jefferson. The act was never tested before the Supreme Court but its constitutionality was vigorously challenged as a violation of the First Amendment and as an improper exercise of the congressional peace-time regulation.<sup>3</sup> Mere legislative fiat may not take the place of actual conditions requiring the limitation of civil liberty.<sup>4</sup> Punishing a man for the supposedly bad tendency of his words invades his right to discuss desired changes in government.<sup>5</sup>

In 1918, under the excitement of war, the Espionage Act was amended to include these words:

Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully utter or publish any disloyal or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution, . . . or the military or naval forces . . . , or the flag . . . , or the uniform of the Army or Navy, or any language intended to bring . . . [them] into contempt . . . or disrepute . . . shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both. . . . (Title I, §3).

Professor Chafee states that over nineteen hundred prosecutions and other judicial proceedings resulted from this legislation.<sup>6</sup> The amendment was repealed in 1921 but in many states the hot temper of belligerent patriotism was employed to forge new laws against radical economic and political agitation in peace time. Measures against anarchism, syndicalism, and communism followed.<sup>7</sup>

The motives for stringent social action in war time seem evident. Fear of enemy attack, suspicion of alien treachery, and impatience with slack cooperation by citizens arouse angry protest and prompt harsh treatment for dissenters. A threatening incident offers a vent for this stirring energy. It swiftly plows legal channels through organized opposition and spreads in popular movements to submerge dubious cases. Under pressure of impending national emergency, whether actual or potential, considerations of

<sup>1</sup> Art. III, sec. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Z. Chafee, *Freedom of Speech*, 29-30, New York, 1920.

<sup>3</sup> R. E. Cushman, *Ency. Soc. Sci.*, vol. 1: 635.

<sup>4</sup> Bailey *v.* Alabama, 219 U. S. 219.

<sup>5</sup> Herndon *v.* Lowry, 301 U. S. 242.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*, page 1 and appendix II.

<sup>7</sup> Chafee, *loc. cit.*, appendix V.

abstract justice are overwhelmed by clamor for means to survive. The plea is public necessity. Civil rights are restricted, and personal freedom is dominated by authorized control or subjected by condoned assault.<sup>8</sup>

Even in peace time, conspiracy to overthrow the government by violence cannot be allowed.<sup>9</sup> However, the line between a dangerous plot to wreck the state and sharp challenge to governmental policy or administrative competence should be drawn with care. Acts of violence are easily discovered and legally punished. Conspiracy is more difficult to prove. If two or more persons agree to commit any offense against the United States, and one or more of them perform an act to effect the same, each of the parties is punishable for criminal conspiracy.<sup>10</sup> This rule seems reasonable. But combination to affect a change in government by lawful means is no crime in a political democracy. Neither are concerted efforts to alter economic conditions by peaceful methods unlawful, provided they do not impair essential rights. Here, of course, is the crux of the matter. The courts have not found a satisfactory scale to adjust the rights of individuals to the weight of public authority in all cases. They have frequently been inclined to follow precedent or to side with a dominant class. However, recent decisions of the Supreme Court show a marked tendency to depart from such traditional interpretation.

When the claims of a minority are neglected or denied by law, protest and organized effort to change the code usually follow. If such attempts are repressed, resistance appears to be subversive. The movement then seems to menace public order, and its activities are prohibited. If enforcement prevails, the open challenge becomes a concealed plot; if authority weakens, forbidden acts are tolerated. This is an awkward dilemma for popular government. In such case, it may appear to be either arbitrary or feeble.

A serious problem arose last year, when foreign powers seemed bent upon fomenting disorder in this country. To meet the situation, Congress passed the Alien Registration Act. This provides, among other measures, that it shall be unlawful for any person (1) to teach the desirability of overthrowing any government in the United States by force; (2) to circulate, with destructive intent, any publication advocating such course; (3) to organize any society encouraging these measures, or to join any group knowing its purpose to do so.<sup>11</sup> At the time of writing, no case under these clauses had been decided by the Supreme Court. It seems evident, however, that new restrictions have been laid upon freedom of communication by this act.

How shall the courts decide what constitutes a dangerous plot against the state? Millenial or utopian schemes are usually not considered menacing. If clear and present danger appears likely to attend the commission of certain acts, the government is justified in preventing them.<sup>12</sup> A threaten-

<sup>8</sup> See Natl. Civil Liberties Bur., *War-time Prosecutions and Mob Violence*, New York, 1919.

<sup>9</sup> U. S. Criminal Code, sec. 6.

<sup>10</sup> U. S. Criminal Code, sec. 37.

<sup>11</sup> 18 U. S. C. A., §10, (a).

<sup>12</sup> *Shenk v United States*, 249 U. S. 47.

ing war is generally regarded as sufficient emergency to warrant additional precautions. Interference with official plans may then be treated as sedition.<sup>13</sup> Military expediency may be advanced as a plea to hush criticism of administrative policy and even to warrant curtailment of civil rights. These rights the makers of our Constitution apparently intended as safeguards for the people against oppression by the government in war time as well as in peace.<sup>14</sup>

What kind of action against constituted authority is prohibited? According to the law just quoted, "overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence or . . . assassination of any officer of such government." Hereby the evil is stated to reside in criminal acts. However, the measure declares that "knowingly or willfully" to advocate such acts is itself a crime. Although a court might consider the law a proper regulation of speech, press and association, the words "knowingly or willfully" raise the question of the purpose of revolutionary propaganda. Is it to frighten Conservatives or to instigate Radicals? Authorities would probably consider the numbers and means of any society that actually threatened to overthrow the government. A few enthusiasts could not accomplish such conquest.

It might be held that if scheming people were free to spread a gospel of hate and destruction, they would influence others to join them and help in their evil plans. In this way, a small inner group could direct and control many persons not acquainted with the real purpose of the association. These ignorant followers might be incited to commit offenses against the government, for which the instigators could evade punishment.

Possibly this may happen. It sometimes does. Business corporations and governments have been known to plant spies and *agents provocateurs* in suspected organizations to obtain evidence against troublesome agitators.<sup>15</sup> The law holds that one who instigates a crime is a guilty partner in its commission. But what words constitute effective inducement thereto is not merely a question of law but of inference from the facts as well. The circumstances and the competence of a speaker cannot be ignored.

So, ultimately, questions of motives and ends recur in the argument. To say that any man may freely speak the truth with good intent for the public benefit, or vice versa, offers no criteria of truth, goodness, benefit or their opposites. These words merely indicate qualities in relations that we prefer. Government may be lax or oppressive; force may be used to injure or to restore order; general welfare may be promoted by strict control or by tolerant inaction. Which policy is "right" depends upon what the condition seems to require and what measures members of the community are willing to accept.

Now, when a minority shows any tendency to diverge from these accepted

<sup>13</sup> U. S. C., Title 50, sec. 33. <sup>14</sup> *Ex parte Milligan*, 4 Wallace 2.

<sup>15</sup> Against *Entrapment*, see *Sam Yick v. United States*, 240 F 60.

ways, the rest of the group is apt to attribute bad motives to the dissenters. Because their aim is different, we feel that their intention must be wrong. As this familiar psychology is carried over into legal action, we arrive at the dubious doctrine of presumptive intent. That is, not only what a man says or does contrary to law may be used as evidence of his guilt, but the evil results that prevailing opinion believes may follow from such expression are assumed to be the purpose of the accused. Such procedure comes perilously near to penalizing an individual for opinions imputed to him by a prejudiced authority. Opinion is free and only specified conduct is amenable to law.<sup>18</sup>

*III. Censorship.* Censorship has never been popular in this country, although we have it, mostly self-imposed by the commercial press and moving picture industry, and indirectly administered through government control of the mails and radio. Restraint is exercised less by prohibition of certain subjects than by indication that improper treatment would not be approved by those in authority. Sources of information may be shut off and facilities for continuing or extending the service may not be made available. Fear of retaliation thus prevents some writers and speakers from publishing facts and opinions that might antagonize powerful interests or contentious minorities. Such pressure is social rather than judicial and appears to have little bearing upon civil rights. However, unreadiness to claim and exercise the liberty of honest expression in business and politics diminishes freedom of speech in general. The man in the street comes to regard it as a luxury he can hardly afford.

The man in an academic chair is in a similar plight. To gain security, recognition, and promotion, he feels called upon to use caution in presenting disturbing views. This is due not merely to scholarly care in weighing evidence but also to human dread of unpleasant consequences for annoying students, deans, and local patrons of the arts. In our own field, pronounced opinions that are contrary to accepted beliefs regarding family relations, economic interests, and political methods are considered not merely indications of poor judgment but may be set forth as proof that their exponents harbor schemes to undermine society. Trenchant criticism of the existing order and radical plans for its reconstruction are therefore avoided by discriminating teachers or are planted as scarecrows to warn inquisitive minds against trespass. Teachers' oaths, sectarian codes, and campus regulations muffle protest. So the cunning monkeys of Nikko replace the naked goddess of Truth.

In the heyday of academic freedom, *Lehrfreiheit* was paralleled by *Lernfreiheit*, the freedom of a student to examine all sides of a question. This aspect of learning is sometimes overlooked by earnest scholars. A prescribed text or an inspired lecturer is substituted for real class discussion.

<sup>18</sup> *Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U. S. 163; *Mutual Film Corporation v. Industrial Commission*, 236 U. S. 230.

The student is told by his teachers what is right to believe. The school lays out a course to fit him for a trade or profession. The community requires him to accept certain conventional standards of conduct. But the student himself has little to say about the selection and arrangement of his intellectual equipment. He is seldom encouraged to put searching questions or to maintain an exceptional standpoint. Thus our system of formal education may become a powerful agency to check free expression and to crush original thought.

By this time, it is apparent that we have crossed the line between civil rights and personal initiative. In the latter zone, freedom of private opinion cannot be estopped; but expression of unpopular views certainly can be curbed. A common check is the general rule that embarrassing subjects should not be discussed in public. Methods of enforcing it vary from stony silence to lynching. The offending party is discredited and avoided as a social pariah. Such isolation unquestionably hinders free speech. The victim may retreat into solitary brooding or attempt angry protest. In either case, his thought finds no adequate expression. He is like a man in a closed glass cabinet. We can see his lips move but we do not hear what he is saying.

*IV. Freedom.* Freedom means not merely absence of external restraint but also ability to do something effectively. In this positive sense, the skill of an artist is more important than the limitations of his materials or the style of his contemporaries. These he can use to create a new expression of beauty. So he reveals to others fresh possibilities for their art. The same is true of scientists and philosophers. Discovery and invention find better ways to direct energy and to control results.

We believe that like improvement can be made in the field of social relations, but that requires opportunity and ability to investigate conditions, to judge the performance of institutions, and to propose more helpful methods. Few of us are able to accomplish such work alone. We must share our experience and pool our results. This calls for open channels of communication and frank discussion of opinions. In the face of common ignorance, official prejudice and general excitement such talk may be misunderstood or even considered subversive. What then? It becomes impossible to pursue fundamental social research, as our colleagues in parts of Europe have found.

We said that freedom implies ability to act, i.e., competent self-direction. A patent error of popular belief about democratic control is that everybody has equal capacity in this respect. A serious blunder results from assuming that a majority will know what steps to take in an emergency. Our studies indicate rather, that although the people may know what they want, how to get it is a problem for experts to solve. So in questions of government, we approve a plebiscite upon general policy but distrust lay judgment concerning details of administration. Public opinion is not always well informed.

In many social issues, we face the query, who is a qualified expert able to decide what line of action seems most reasonable? To direct the point to our own field, let us ask, who is a qualified sociologist? Last year this society refused to attempt an answer. How much or what kind of study, field investigation, teaching experience, publication or public service establishes such reputation, none of us seems to know. Yet we claim privilege to pronounce judgment upon important matters concerning society on the basis of a doubtful title. Professor Ross once said that "nothing should be held so sacred that it may not be criticized by a competent person at the proper time and in a seemly manner."<sup>17</sup> Under the conditions stated, some of us would be obliged to maintain silence; and so you might not have had the opportunity of listening to this paper.

However, we feel bound to protect our academic liberties against encroachment by external authority. We realize that such intrusion is likely to happen when war economy begins to regiment the schools. The social studies are most likely to be disciplined by patriots, taxpayers and politicians. In that case, our positions as teachers may become insecure. No memorial by the Association of University Professors will restore them. Unless each sector of the academic front is vigorously defended, our lines may be broken and pushed back.

It has been suggested that any school whose action in dismissing a competent teacher was adjudged to be unwarranted or arbitrary, should be placed upon a black list by the national society of scholars in the subject attacked. No member of that society would be recommended to fill a teaching position in such school, nor could any person retain his membership in the society if he accepted a post in the discredited institution while it was under the same administration. Let me respectfully urge our own Executive Committee to consider the possibility of framing some such measure to be incorporated in the constitution of this society. I may add that I cherish no illusions of its adoption.

*Conclusion.* One hundred and fifty years ago, the first ten amendments were added to the Federal Constitution as a Bill of Rights. Similar measures were embodied in practically all state constitutions. After the Civil War, the Fourteenth Amendment insured all citizens against abridgment of their privileges and immunities by state legislation. During the first World War and after, these rights were restricted by "due process of law" and by public clamor.

The threat of another war has produced a series of new regulations limiting personal freedom. To speak disparagingly of these requirements is considered disloyal. Attempts to change them are confronted with intolerance. In such a climate of opinion, free speech does not flourish. Reason submits to authority and law yields to force. If the people are convinced

<sup>17</sup> E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, 509, New York, 1920.

that drastic action is necessary and the courts sustain rules to inhibit civil liberty, the warning voice of a dispassionate scholar will not carry far. Nevertheless, it is our duty as students of social action to indicate a reasonable course between bureaucracy and mob rule. That course appears to follow open channels of communication charted by law, through which currents of opinion freely flow toward wider reaches of truth.

In conclusion let me quote from the opinion of the late Justice Brandeis in the case of *Whitney v. California* (274 U. S. 375).

Those who won our independence believed that the final end of the state was to make men free to develop their faculties; and that in its government the deliberative forces should prevail over the arbitrary. They valued liberty both as an end and as a means. They believed liberty to be the secret of happiness and courage to be the secret of liberty. They believed that freedom to think as you will and to speak as you think are means indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth; that without free speech and assembly discussion would be futile; that with them, discussion affords ordinarily adequate protection against the dissemination of noxious doctrine; that the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people; that public discussion is a political duty; and that this should be a fundamental principle of the American government. They recognized the risks to which all human institutions are subject. But they knew that order cannot be secured merely through fear of punishment for its infraction; that it is hazardous to discourage thought, hope and imagination; that fear breeds repression; that repression breeds hate; that hate menaces stable government; that the path of safety lies in the opportunity to discuss freely supposed grievances and proposed remedies; and that the fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones. Believing in the power of reason as applied through public discussion, they eschewed silence coerced by law—the argument of force in its worst form. Recognizing the occasional tyrannies of government majorities, they amended the Constitution so that free speech and assembly should be guaranteed.

## NATIONAL MORALE OF AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS IN 1941\*

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**I.** *Purposes and First Steps.* This research project was formulated in January 1941 to find answers to the following questions: Is the national morale of American college students higher in some sections of the United States than in other sections? Are there any significant changes of national morale taking place? Do Negro youth have low national morale? How do youth compare with adults in national morale?

1. *Construction of an Attitude Scale.* It is necessary to find a reliable and valid instrument to measure national morale in order to obtain objective and verifiable answers to such questions. In early 1941, there was no such instrument. To meet this immediate need all efforts were centered upon the construction of an attitude scale. In August 1941, this work was done and in print.<sup>1</sup> One of the most important tasks in that problem was to define national morale in such part-whole relations that it would be useful for empirical research. The terms morale and national morale have been used loosely and interchangeably in current discussion. Both communication and research is dulled by such ambiguity. A differentiation of personal morale from national morale is necessary.

Personal morale may be defined as "a condition of physical and emotional well being in the individual that makes it possible for him to work and live hopefully and effectively, feeling that he shares the basic purposes of the group of which he is a member; and that makes it possible for him to perform his tasks with energy, enthusiasm, and self-discipline, sustained by a conviction that, in spite of obstacles and conflict, his personal and social ideals are worth pursuing."<sup>2</sup> It is entirely possible, if this definition

\* The writing of this paper was completed on December 5, 1941, two days before the United States was attacked by Japan. No change has been made in the paper. It is believed that its worth will be enhanced by leaving it untouched. A research note is appended to give readers a brief picture of what happened to the national morale of Washington State students after the attacks in the Pacific area. This paper was presented to the American Sociological Society, New York City, Dec. 29, 1941.

<sup>1</sup> Delbert C. Miller, "The Measurement of National Morale," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, Aug. 1941, 6: 487-498. See also the independent and simultaneous work of John Harding, "A Scale for Measuring Civilian Morale," *J. of Psychol.*, July 1941, 12: 101-110. See also E. T. Katzoff and A. R. Gilliland, "A Scale for the Measurement of Attitude toward American Participation in the Present European Conflict," *J. of Psychol.*, Jan. 1941, 11: 173-196; "Student Attitudes on the World Conflict," *J. of Psychol.*, Oct. 1941, 12: 227-233. Interested readers should secure a copy of the unpublished paper by Raymond F. Sletto, "Some Problems in the Measurement of National Morale," Address to Conference on Morale, The Society for Social Research, University of Chicago, Aug. 16, 1941. Best bibliography on morale is that of Irving L. Child, "Morale: A Bibliographical Review," *Psychol. Bull.*, June 1941, 38: 393-420.

<sup>2</sup> Mimeograph report of a Conference on Psychological Factors in Morale, held Nov. 2 and 3, 1940, under the auspices of National Research Council at Cambridge, Mass.

is acceptable, to observe a person displaying high personal morale while rejecting the current national goals set out and followed by his government and the majority of American citizens. Therefore, a definition of national morale must be so conceived that it reflects the confidence and enthusiasm of an individual in those national goals which are pursued by the consensus of citizen members in the nation. This means that national morale is subject not only to variation as social changes take place but perhaps also to complete reconstruction. National morale has meant something quite different for each of the last three decades. It means something different to a nation at war than it means to a nation at peace. The following definition of national morale is proposed in the belief that it fits the proper social and temporal relatives distinguishing it. *National morale pertains to all factors in the individual's life that bring about his energetic participation in the tasks which most effectively secure the national goals.* The components of national morale include: (1) belief in the superiority of the social structure in the in group; (2) degree and manner by which personal goals are identified with national goals; (3) judgments of the competence of national leadership; (4) belief that resources are available to hurl back any threats to the ingroup; (5) confidence in the permanence of the national goals.<sup>3</sup> On this theory of national morale, a survey of opinions was formulated and by appropriate techniques a cluster of discriminating attitudes was identified. The items in the final survey, named the Washington State Survey of Opinions, can be examined by reference to Tables 4, 5, 6, or 7.

2. *New Research on the Reliability and Validity of the Washington State Survey of Opinions.* The Survey was administered to 705 persons in 1941. Of these persons, 577 were college students from many sections of the United States; 128 were adults from Washington, Illinois, and Ohio. Table 1 displays the reliability of the scale by the split-half method. Corrected coefficients range from .70 to .88. Reliability is somewhat lower for the college student population because of the failure of many youth with otherwise high national morale scores to indorse such a statement as, "Any man or woman should be proud to die in the defense of democracy." Likewise, college students with high national morale scores often disagree with such chauvinistic statements as, "The real American should be willing to fight for his country whether it is in the right or the wrong." These differences cause the reliability to fall somewhat lower for the younger age segments. However, reliability for the college population approaches .80 and for adults .90. This seems quite satisfactory for a concept with as many facets as that of national morale.

An instrument based on verbal behavior might be amply justified, if it did nothing but accurately measure verbal behavior and enable the researcher to predict future verbal behavior. However, the validity of an

<sup>3</sup> This theory was submitted to empirical test during the construction of the scale. See D. C. Miller, *loc. cit.*, 487.

TABLE I. EVIDENCE FOR THE RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF THE NATIONAL MORALE SCALE.

Reliability Coefficients (split-halves)	Wash. State May 1, 1941	Wash. State Oct. 1, 1941	Oklahoma A.-M. Oct. 1, 1941	New Hampshire Oct. 1, 1941	Mid-Western Oct. 1, 1941	Smith Oct. 1, 1941	Adults May-August, 1941
(Odd vs. Even)	N = 100	N = 100	N = 100	N = 87	N = 100	N = 90	N = 128
Raw Corrected	.69 .82	.60 .75	.53 .70	.56 .72	.73 .85	.53 .70	.78 .88

RELATIONSHIP OF NATIONAL MORALE TO OVERT BEHAVIOR<sup>2</sup>

Overt Behavior	Response	N	$M_p$	$M_t$	$\sigma_{M_t}$	$r_{bis}$	Indicates Relationship with
1. Do you belong to any organization protesting U. S. entry into war?	(1) Yes	(2) 14	(3) 62.43	(4) 50.08	(5) 10.70	(6) .51	(7) Low National Morale
2. Have you given any volunteer work or contribution to any group sending money or clothes to Britain or her allies?	Yes	254	48.11	50.08	10.70	-.20	High National Morale
3. Have you bought any U.S. Bonds or Defense Savings Stamps?	Yes	63	47.25	50.08	10.70	-.16	High National Morale

<sup>1</sup> Mid-Western is a fictitious name to represent an Indiana college whose administration asked that identity be withheld.

<sup>2</sup> Low scores on National Morale Scale indicate high national morale; high scores indicate low national morale. Formula used for cols. 5 and 6 is from E. F. Lindquist, *Statistical Analysis in Educational Research*, 241-243, New York, 1940.  $M_p$  (col. 3) is the mean National Morale Score of those who responded "yes" (col. 2);  $M_t$  is the mean N.M.S. of the entire 705 persons.

attitude scale is most convincingly demonstrated when measurements lead to accurate prediction of action patterns. To determine the correspondence of verbal behavior with action patterns 705 persons were asked: (1) Do you belong to any organization protesting United States entry into war? (2) Have you given any volunteer work or contribution to any group sending money or clothes to Britain or her allies? (3) Have you bought any United States Bonds or Defense Savings Stamps? These questions do not inquire as to how an individual *feels* or *thinks* or *believes*. They ask the individual whether he has taken these specific *actions*—actions believed representative of the behavior of a person with high or low national morale. A biserial correlation of .51 indicates a definite relationship between low national morale and the assumption of membership in an organization

protesting against the United States entry into war. (See Table 1.) The scores of those who have made volunteer contributions to Britain correlate  $-.20$  with national morale scores. Since low scores on the scale indicate high national morale this coefficient indicates some correlation but it is so low as to be indecisive. The scores of those who bought United States bonds correlate  $-.16$  with national morale scores. Again, the direction is as expected for validity but the measure is very low. The most convincing test of validity is the demonstration that those who join organizations protesting United States entry into war are those whose attitudes lead us to predict such behavior.

The question may be raised as to whether the scale, even granting some correlation of opinions with action patterns, actually measures national morale. The answer must be a qualified one if the foregoing results are to be interpreted intelligently. It must be remembered that national morale has been defined as the cumulative force of all factors in the individual's life that bring about his energetic participation in the tasks which most effectively secure the national goals. In the scale measurements, we have only verbal behavior to serve as an index to attitudes. Those individuals are designated as having high morale when they hold opinions reflecting confidence in the future, giving assent to a forceful foreign policy, believing in the moral purposes of Great Britain and her allies, and readiness to die proudly, if need be, in the defense of democracy. The reader must clearly understand that the scale is based upon admitted value judgments. A sincere isolationist could not secure the highest national morale rating, although he might display, at a later time, amazing courage in a battle for his country. Most convincing measures of validity would be secured from tests of performance in a tank battle, in cities subjected to night bombing, in the hunger of prolonged siege, or in the fatigue of long hours in factory or office. But it must be remembered, if we propose this, that we are speaking of national morale in war and not in a nation which, like ours, stands somewhere between peace and war. The measure presented here is a test of the intellectual and emotional readiness for participation in a world at war. If all results are interpreted in this way, there will be no confusion over the use of such terms as high and low national morale as they are employed here.

*II. Collection of Data. 1. Description of Samples.* The many purposes of the investigation made it necessary to procure samples to satisfy many demands. To make regional comparisons, it was necessary to secure samples of college students in many sections of the United States. Responses from 477 students of five different sections were obtained. Professors serving Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, University of New Hampshire, Johnson C. Smith University (Negro University in North Carolina), Washington State College, and a college in Indiana (fictitiously titled Mid-Western) assisted by administering the Survey and an accompanying

TABLE 2. ACTION AND BELIEF PATTERNS OF RESPONSE EXHIBITED IN A COLLEGE POPULATION  
ON OCTOBER 1, 1941

Items	Response Characteristic	Percentage Marked					
		Percentage Average N = 477	Washington State N = 100	Oklahoma A.-M. N = 100	New Hampshire N = 87	Mid-Western N = 100	Smith Univ. (Colored) N = 90
Sex	Males	53.2	52	53	40	45	76
	Females	46.8	48	47	60	55	24
Rank	Jr. Col.	63.4	62	44	60	51	100
	Sr. Col.	36.6	38	56	40	49	0
Did you give up a job on which you could have been steadily employed for the rest of the college year in order to come back to college in 1941-42?	Yes	40.8	40	42	37	37	48
	No	52.8	46	50	62	58	48
	Doubtful	6.0	13	7	1	5	4
	No data	0.4	1	1	0	0	0
Do the members of your family approve of your desire to acquire college training this year?	Yes	97.6	98	98	94	100	98
	No	1.4	0	0	1	0	1
	Doubtful	1.8	1	2	5	0	1
	No data	2	1	0	0	0	0
Do you feel that things are going well with you at the present time?	Yes	80.4	80	85	83	78	76
	No	4.8	4	6	6	2	6
	Doubtful	14.0	15	8	9	20	18
	No data	8	1	2	0	0	0
Are you confident that funds will be available to keep you in college for the entire year?	Yes	76.8	79	72	79	92	62
	No	6.2	5	8	7	2	9
	Doubtful	16.8	16	20	13	6	29
	No data	2	0	0	1	0	0
Do you think that your family at home feel that they have a regular income during the next year?	Yes	78.6	88	79	78	86	62
	No	6.4	5	7	8	9	3
	Doubtful	14.0	6	14	13	5	32
	No data	1.0	1	0	1	0	3
<i>Men: Do you have a draft number?</i>	Yes	22.0	33	30	31	9	7
	No	78.0	67	70	69	91	93
	No data	0	0	0	0	0	0
Do you expect to be called for military service this year?	Yes	9.0	8	4	26	7	0
	No	89.8	88	94	74	93	100
	No data	1.2	4	2	0	0	0
<i>Women: Do you have a brother, father, or sweetheart who has been or will be called for military service?</i>	Yes	57.4	50	72	48	58	59
	No	40.4	46	28	50	42	36
	No data	2.2	4	0	2	0	5
Have you given any volunteer work or contribution to any groups sending money or clothes to Britain or her allies?	Yes	43.8	37	29	61	52	40
	No	55.6	63	70	39	48	58
	No data	.6	0	1	0	0	2
Have you bought any U. S. Bonds or Defense Savings Stamps?	Yes	14.0	15	8	26	12	9
	No	86.0	85	92	74	88	91
	No data	0	0	0	0	0	0
Do you belong to any organization protesting U.S. entry into war?	Yes	3.4	2	4	4	6	1
	No	96.4	98	96	95	94	99
	No data	.2	0	0	1	0	0
Do you think the U. S. will be drawn into a war which will require sending an expeditionary force abroad?	Yes	54.0	43	58	62	47	60
	No	18.2	16	14	12	17	32
	Doubtful	27.2	40	27	25	36	8
	No data	.6	1	1	1	0	0
Do you think the war will force you to leave college before your education is completed?	Yes	30.2	31	22	30	25	43
	No	67.2	63	76	69	75	53
	No data	2.6	6	2	1	0	4
In spite of what you may wish, who do you think will win this war?	Don't know	20.0	28	16	8	21	27
	Britain with our supplies	14.2	13	7	21	14	16
	Britain if we convoy enough supplies to her ports	25.2	23	35	30	24	14
	Britain only if we send out Army, Navy and Air Force	31.6	26	37	33	28	34
	Germany	2.6	0	3	1	3	6
	Stalemate	5.0	8	1	6	10	0
	No data	1.4	2	1	1	0	3

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questionnaire.<sup>4</sup> To make the samples representative, each professor tried to secure approximately an equal number of men and women students and an equal number of junior college and senior college students. This is only a rough approximation of an ideal representative sample but it is believed practical for this study. For example, the W.S.C. sample contained only 5 percent who were sociology majors and they were freshmen. This was probably true of the other schools. The Negro college sample was a social orientation course taught by a psychologist. Of course it is possible that sociology students, even when not majors, may not be representative of college populations, but this is thought to be unlikely.

Each question considered for the questionnaire received a place in the final form only when it seemed that it might reveal a factor influencing personal or national morale. Table 2 is a statistical report showing in percentages the responses of 477 college students in the five American colleges on October 1, 1941. The following conclusions follow from a reading of the table: (1) approximately two out of every five students gave up a job on which they could have been steadily employed in order to attend college in 1941-42; (2) almost all students feel they have the approval of their parents in attending college; (3) about two out of every ten students definitely do not feel or are doubtful that things are going well with them at the present time; (4) roughly, three out of four students are confident that funds will be available to keep them in college for the entire year; (5) one or two students in every ten do not feel or are doubtful that their family at home will have a regular income during the next year; (6) the students have come into contact with the press of events if the experience of the women can be used as evidence; over one half report that a brother, father, or sweetheart has been or will be called for military service; (7) approximately four out of every ten students have made some kind of contribution to Britain or her allies and one or two out of ten have bought United States Bonds or Defense Savings Stamps; (8) about three in every one hundred belong to an organization protesting United States entry into war; (9) on the average, over one half of all students believe the United States will be drawn into a war which will require sending an expeditionary force abroad; (10) three students in ten think the war will force them to leave college before their education is completed; (11) in spite of the record of German military victories, less than three students in a hundred believe that Germany will win the war. However, three out of every ten think that Britain will win only if we send out our Army, Navy, and Air Force.

Summarizing, we can say that these students are very much involved in the demands of their nation as it makes greater defense efforts. They are making genuine income sacrifices when it is realized that 40 percent gave

<sup>4</sup> I wish to acknowledge indebtedness to the following professors who assisted by administering the Survey and questionnaire at their respective institutions: William H. Sewell, Joseph Bachelder, Jr., M. E. Thomasson, Carl E. Dent, and R. M. D. at Mid-Western.

up steady jobs to get a college education while at the same time two students out of ten are not now confident that funds will be available to keep them in college for the year. One half of them believe that the United States will eventually send an expeditionary force abroad and one third think the war will force them to leave college before their education is completed. Thus, two social pressures are squeezing them. On the one hand, there is the invitation of immediate job opportunity, while, on the other, there is an ever nearing war to break up their former peace time expectations. These pressures seem to be intensifying and we can expect many new behavior patterns affecting motivation, selection of courses, and length of enrollment.

2. *Relationship of Age and Sex to National Morale.* Six samples of the college population representing 577 students from many different sections of

TABLE 3. PERTINENT STATISTICAL MEASURES DESCRIBING NATIONAL MORALE  
IN A 1941 POPULATION

Statistics	All Cases (1941) N=705	Wash. State May 1, 1941 N=100	Wash. State Oct. 1, 1941 N=100	Oklahoma A.-M. Oct. 1, 1941 N=100	New Hampshire Oct. 1, 1941 N=87	Mid-Western Oct. 1, 1941 N=100	Smith Oct. 1, 1941 N=90	Adults May-August, 1941 N=128
Total Mean Score	50.08	51.77	50.96	47.59	49.83	54.01	49.30	48.94
Males: Mean Score		N=52 53.83	N=52 52.38	N=53 48.11	N=35 50.80	N=45 53.64	N=68 50.38	N=112 48.60
Females: Mean Score		N=48 49.67	N=48 49.21	N=47 47.00	N=52 48.50	N=55 54.33	N=22 46.00	N=16 51.31
S.D. Total Mean Score	10.70	9.72	8.31	7.98	8.70	8.70	19.23	10.55
<i>r</i> Age. Natl. Mor.		.23 ± .09	.07 ± .10	.01 ± .10	.22 ± .06	.02 ± .10	.17 ± .10	-.26 ± .08
<i>r</i> biSex. Natl. Mor.		.27	.22	.09	.11	-.04	.28	-.12

the country reveal no relationship between either sex or age with the national morale scores. The coefficients can be examined in Table 3. It will be observed that 128 adults (average age, 42) show a coefficient of  $-.26 \pm .08$  when age is correlated with national morale scores. Since low scores indicate high national morale this may be interpreted as a very slight tendency of older persons to show somewhat higher national morale.

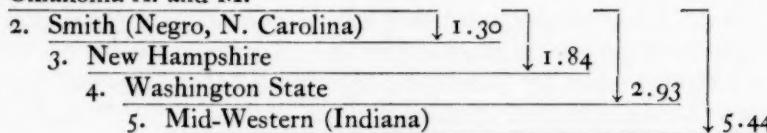
III. *Answers to Pertinent Questions.* 1. *Is the National Morale of American College Students Higher in Some Sections of the United States than in Others?* Mean scores of five samples of college students were examined. Table 3 shows such scores. Ranked in order of national morale we find that Oklahoma exhibits highest morale (Low score means high morale). Smith, New

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Hampshire, and Washington State are so close together as to be almost tied for an intermediate position. Mid-Western, located in a more isolationist area, ranks lowest in this comparison. The significance of the differences is shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1.—SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEAN NATIONAL MORALE SCORE OF OKLAHOMA A. & M. COLLEGE AND THE MEAN NATIONAL MORALE SCORE MADE AT EACH OF THE SUCCEEDING COLLEGES.<sup>5</sup>

1. Oklahoma A. and M.



There are three chances in a thousand that the difference in mean score between Washington State and Oklahoma A. & M. could have occurred solely by errors in sampling. The chance that Oklahoma and Mid-Western could so differ in mean score through sampling error alone is less than one in ten thousand. Before we come to conclusions about the meaning of these differences, it is necessary to ask whether these samples truly represent the college population from which they are drawn. Some samples have more men than women, some have more older students than others. Since there is no relationship between age and sex with national morale scores of college students, it is not necessary to hold these factors constant. Time has been held constant by administering the scale to all students on the same day. Although it may be suggested that other factors may alter a sample so as to make it unrepresentative of a given college, it seems entirely sound to believe that age and sex are the most important factors to consider. The *Fortune Survey*<sup>6</sup> reports that on the question of our part in the war,

Rich and poor, executive and unemployed think almost identically. . . . Especially striking in the returns is the fact that the economic and occupational breakdown of the answers are not worth publishing: every income group and every occupational group except the housewives shows a clear majority giving one of the last two definite answers—the answers that sanction war or the risk of war.

As far as can be detected at present, there are no variables to bring about appreciable differences except the differences which exist between various

<sup>5</sup> The following table gives the data from which Figure 1 is constructed:

Variables	Oklahoma Mean	Other Means	Critical Ratio	Probability
1 and 2	47.59	$M_2 = 49.30$	1.30	.19
1 and 3	47.59	$M_3 = 49.83$	1.84	.07
1 and 4	47.59	$M_4 = 50.96$	2.93	.003
1 and 5	47.59	$M_5 = 54.01$	5.44	<.0001

<sup>6</sup> Fortune Survey: XXXIX, *Fortune*, August 1941, 24: 75.

sections of the United States. From the results which George Gallup and Elmo Roper get on public opinion polls, these national morale scores seem to show that college students reflect the political sentiments prevailing in their respective areas.<sup>7</sup> More evidence for such a conclusion is found in the nearly similar mean score made by samples of 100 Washington State students living in Pullman, Washington, and 87 adults living in the same city. The two groups were administered the scale during the same week in May, 1941. The small difference between the mean scores is not statistically significant.<sup>8</sup> It can be concluded that college students as a group are not distinguishable in national morale from the adults who live in the same areas. However, very real differences distinguish both adults and college students of some sections from those of other sections.

2. *Are there Racial Differences in National Morale?* Horace Cayton, at a recent conference on morale, insisted that many Negroes with whom he had come in contact in Chicago displayed very low morale.<sup>9</sup> In his address, he claimed that they believed Hitler would be a corrective for whites in America. It would be fine, they thought, to see whites bowing down in the role of inferiors before so-called superior peoples.

These statements from an outstanding Negro spokesman deserve immediate attention. No democracy can afford to ignore such conditions if they exist. The problem stimulated an extension of the research to include the testing of a Negro population and then comparing it with a white group. Professor Thomasson submitted the *Survey of Opinions* to 90 of his freshman students at Johnson C. Smith University, a Negro school at Charlotte, North Carolina. The results of that sample have been partially reported. It will be remembered that this Negro sample ranked second in national morale in comparison with the other four (white) colleges. However, the mean scores on the scale are merely indices of the general variable. The component segments are revealed only by item analysis. Table 4 is an item comparison of Washington State College students and Smith University students who were administered the national morale scale in October, 1941. There are four columns in Table 4. The first column contains the items. In the second column is placed the percentage who either answered the item, *strongly agree* or *agree*; in column three is placed the percentage answering *strongly disagree* or *disagree*; while column four is a record of those who answered, *undecided*.

<sup>7</sup> See Gallup and Fortune Poll compilations in the *Public Opinion Quarterly* from March 1940 and continuing with each issue. On almost all issues regarding our participation in the European War, interventionist sentiment increases as you move from (1) East and West Central States, (2) Pacific Coast and Mountain States, (3) Middle Atlantic and New England States, (4) South.

<sup>8</sup>  $M_1 = 51.77$ ,  $M_2 = 49.21$ ;  $C.R. = 1.79$ ,  $P = .07$ .

<sup>9</sup> Unpublished paper, "The Morale of the Negro and National Defense," The Society for Social Research, University of Chicago, Aug. 15, 1941.

TABLE 4. COMPARATIVE ITEM ANALYSIS OF OPINIONS GIVEN BY WASHINGTON STATE STUDENTS  
AND JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, OCTOBER 1, 1941

Washington State Survey of Opinions	Percentage Marked														
	Strongly Agree or Agree				Strongly Disagree or Disagree				Undecided						
	W.S.C. Oct. 1, 1941 N = 100	S.U. Oct. 1, 1941 N = 90	S.E. diff.	C.R.	W.S.C.	S.U.	S.E. diff.	C.R.	W.S.C.	S.U.	S.E. diff.	C.R.			
1. The British are not so much concerned with the saving of democracy as with the saving of their skins and the rich trade of their empire.	59	43	-16	6.97	2.29	33	41	+8	-1	-1	8	16	+8	-1	-1
2. No matter what happens in this war, democracy will collapse sooner or later.	10	7	-3	-1	-1	70	71	+1	-	-	20	22	+2	-	-
3. Every able-bodied single man who calls himself an American should volunteer now for military service.	19	41	+22	6.20	3.50	70	41	-20	6.91	4.20	11	18	+7	-	-
4. It is good to see the business men who have left private business going to Washington to serve the government.	41	74	+33	6.58	5.01	37	16	-21	6.20	3.39	12	10	-12	5.22	2.30
5. The military strength of the United States could be assembled in time to give Britain enough aid to defeat Hitler.	47	68	+21	6.83	3.07	24	12	-12	5.48	2.20	29	20	-9	-	-
6. In modern war the average soldier is just so much cannon fodder.	59	47	-12	-	-	35	33	-2	-	-	6	20	+14	4.65	3.01
7. There are too many old men trying to run the Army and Navy.	28	23	-5	-	-	49	52	+3	-	-	23	25	+2	-	-
8. Any man or woman should be proud to die in the defense of democracy.	37	56	+19	6.92	2.74	38	28	-10	-	-	25	16	-9	-	-
9. The future is too uncertain to make plans for oneself.	43	47	+4	-	-	46	40	-6	-	-	11	13	+2	-	-
10. Within six months after war is declared the U. S. will have a totalitarian government.	20	20	0	-	-	49	50	+1	-	-	31	30	-1	-	-
11. The U. S. is a democracy in name but not in practice.	22	46	+24	6.48	3.70	62	38	-24	7.05	3.40	16	16	0	-	-
12. No matter how much damage Germany does sooner or later Britain will defeat Hitler.	47	43	-4	-	-	13	15	+2	-	-	40	42	+2	-	-
13. Whites treat the Negro in the U. S. worse than Germany treats the conquered peoples of Europe.	6	37	+31	5.38	5.76	83	47	-36	7.07	5.09	11	16	+5	-	-
14. The future looks very black.	38	49	+11	-	-	42	28	-14	-	-	20	23	+3	-	-
15. No one cares much what happens to you.	17	22	+5	-	-	77	60	-17	-	-	6	18	+12	-	-
16. There is no chance for the little fellow in business any more.	19	23	+4	-	-	70	62	-8	-	-	11	15	+4	-	-
17. The real American should be willing to fight for his country whether it is in the right or the wrong.	23	42	+10	6.48	2.93	63	42	-21	7.09	2.96	14	16	+2	-	-
18. The U. S. should declare itself an ally of Britain and send Air Force, Army and Navy if necessary to defeat Hitler.	29	56	+27	6.72	4.02	47	27	-20	6.84	2.93	24	17	-7	-	-

<sup>1</sup> Critical ratios were not computed when it was clear by inspection that they would not approximate 3.00. S.E. diff. were not computed when inspection showed they would not be significant.

Very large and statistically significant differences set off Negro students at Smith from Washington State students. Note the *greater agreement* of Smith students to the statements, "Whites treat the Negro in the United States worse than Germany treats the conquered peoples of Europe," and, "The United States is a democracy in name but not in practice." Such agreement can only be considered an index of low morale but this is contrary to our findings. It will be remembered that, when national morale scores are compared, Smith students rank somewhat higher than the Washington State students. For an understanding of this discrepancy, we must look at more records. Significantly *greater agreement* is given by Smith students to such propositions as, "Every able-bodied single man who calls himself an American should volunteer now for military service," "The military strength of the United States could be assembled in time to give Britain enough aid to defeat Hitler," "The real American should be willing to fight for his country whether it is in the right or wrong," and, "The United States should declare itself an ally of Britain and send air force, army, and navy if necessary to defeat Hitler." *Agreements* to such statements have been considered indices of high national morale.

There is an inconsistency to be explained. In the first set of statements there is a belief expressed by many Smith students (37 percent) that whites treat Negroes worse than Hitler treats his conquered peoples. Still, there is a majority expression for full United States military participation in the war, if necessary, to defeat Hitler. Professor Thomasson wrote the following explanation:

It seems to me that several facts contribute to the peculiar reaction of my freshman group to the items concerned with the war and the proper relation of the United States thereto and the item concerned with treatment of Negroes in this country by white people.

The great majority of our freshmen come from the South. The South as a whole has been, and is, the most outspoken of all the sections of the country in its advocacy of this country's participation in the fight against Hitler. Without question, our students have absorbed some of the spirit of the section on this matter. . . . In opposing Hitlerism, then our freshmen reflect the dominant sentiment of the section and of the nation.

I believe that the question now is, Why does a group which reacts to items touching national policy and related matters in connection with the war, in a manner indicative of high morale, react to an item relating specifically to its own members in a manner indicative of low morale? My belief is that this reaction reflects the deep resentment that Negroes feel over roles—or absence of roles—that have been assigned to them in connection with the defense program. . . . Negroes have been systematically and consistently excluded by both government and private enterprise from participation in the war effort on anything like a democratic basis. . . . These freshmen are well informed in regard to the situation. Those who checked the item on treatment accorded to Negroes in the affirmative did so, I am quite sure, on impulse—impulse explained by the bitter resentment caused by current American practices. Their checking was, of course, irrational. If they were asked to compare objectively Hitler's treatment of subject peoples, including the few Negroes in Germany, and

America's treatment of Negroes, they would, I am sure, admit the irrationality of their checking. When I administered the schedule, I made no attempt, directly or indirectly, to influence their expression of views. They reacted as they felt so far as I can see.<sup>10</sup>

Here is an explanation for the responses of one sample of the Negro population. There is not enough evidence here for concluding that most Negroes would act in a like manner. However, the responses of the Smith University students do show clearly the segmental character of the variable, national morale. Seizing on one set of beliefs, an observer can conclude that there is abundant evidence for low national morale while another set of beliefs, in just as convincing fashion, gives evidence for high national morale. In this sample, it is clear that the national morale of these Negroes would be higher if they felt that they were receiving opportunities equal to white citizens. At this point, they lack confidence in the superiority of the social structure in which they must live, but on all other counts, they show more confidence in the United States than the Washington State students do. Fifty-six percent agreed that any man or woman should be proud to die in the defense of democracy. A similar percentage want immediate and full military participation of the United States into the war. There will be further examples in the following analyses of the way in which positive and negative segments intertwine to give the belief and action patterns which we generalize as national morale.

*3. Did the Entrance of Russia into the War Affect National Morale in America?* In May, 1941, England was preparing for a German invasion. This never came. Instead, on June 22, 1941, the Germans marched on Russia. Where diplomacy failed, German fears succeeded; Russia was pushed forward as a new ally in the fight against Hitler. What effect did the inclusion of such a giant in manpower and resources have upon national morale in America? This research presents a sample of the Washington State population who were administered the Washington State Survey of Opinions about two months before the German-Russian conflict and a sample of the same population who were given the Survey three months after the opening of the conflict. Sampling conditions were held constant so that any differences in response would be due to changes in beliefs.

Table 5 is a record of the responses received from Washington State students on May 1, 1941, and a similar sample of Washington State students on October 1, 1941. There is no difference in any of the responses that can be called statistically significant. There is a remarkable consistency in response. For anyone who believes that the attitude scale is tapping an extremely unstable variable, a study of the table will be particularly interesting.

The largest differences which do occur are in *greater agreement* to the statements, "The British are not so much concerned with the saving of

<sup>10</sup> Letter from Professor M. E. Thomasson, November 20, 1941.

TABLE 5. COMPARATIVE ITEM ANALYSIS OF OPINIONS GIVEN BY WASHINGTON STATE STUDENTS  
ON MAY 1, AND ON OCTOBER 1, 1941

Washington State Survey of Opinions	Percentage Marked														
	Strongly Agree or Agree				Strongly Disagree or Disagree				Undecided						
	W.S.C. May 1, 1941 N = 100	W.S.C. Oct. 1, 1941 N = 100	d	S.E.-diff.	W.S.C. May 1	W.S.C. Oct. 1	d	S.E.-diff.	C.R.	W.S.C. May 1	W.S.C. Oct. 1	d	S.E.-diff.	C.R.	
1. The British are not so much concerned with the saving of democracy as with the saving of their skins and the rich trade of their empire.	46	59	+13	7.00	1.85	37	33	-4	-1	-1	17	8	-9	-1	-1
2. No matter what happens in this war, democracy will collapse sooner or later.	17	10	-7	4.79	1.40	62	70	+8	6.67	1.20	21	20	-1	-	-
3. Every able-bodied single man who calls himself an American should volunteer now for military service.	21	19	-2	-1	-1	66	70	+4	-	-	13	11	-3	-	-
4. It is good to see the business men who have left private business going to Washington to serve the government.	42	41	-1	-	-	35	37	+2	-	-	23	22	-1	-1	-1
5. The military strength of the United States could be assembled in time to give Britain enough aid to defeat Hitler.	54	47	-7	-	-	24	24	0	-	-	22	29	+7	-	-
6. In modern war the average soldier is just so much cannon fodder.	63	59	-4	-	-	30	35	+5	-	-	7	6	-1	-	-
7. There are too many old men trying to run the Army and Navy.	29	28	-1	-	-	51	49	-2	-	-	20	23	+3	-	-
8. Any man or woman should be proud to die in the defense of democracy.	34	37	+3	-	-	46	38	-8	-	-	20	25	+5	-	-
9. The future is too uncertain to make plans for oneself.	37	43	+6	-	-	57	46	-11	7.03	1.57	6	11	+5	-	-
10. Within six months after war is declared the U. S. will have a totalitarian government.	30	20	-10	6.92	1.45	47	49	+2	-	-	23	31	+8	6.25	1.28
11. The U. S. is a democracy in name but not in practice.	25	22	-3	-	-	64	62	-2	-	-	11	16	+5	-	-
No matter how much damage Germany does, sooner or later Britain will defeat Hitler.	35	47	+12	6.90	1.74	14	13	-1	-	-	51	40	-11	6.99	1.57
13. Whites treat the Negro in the U. S. worse than Germany treats the conquered peoples of Europe.	10	6	-4	-	-	75	83	+8	-	-	15	11	-4	-	-
14. The future looks very black.	34	38	+4	-	-	47	42	-5	-	-	19	20	+1	-	-
15. No one cares much what happens to you.	19	17	-2	-	-	71	77	+6	-	-	10	6	-4	-	-
16. There is no chance for the little fellow in business any more.	28	19	-9	5.00	1.50	55	70	+15	6.77	2.21	17	11	-6	-	-
17. The real American should be willing to fight for his country whether it is in the right or wrong.	31	23	-8	-	-	57	63	+6	-	-	12	14	2	-	-
18. The U. S. should declare itself an ally of Britain and send Air Force, Army, and Navy if necessary to defeat Hitler.	22	29	+7	-	-	49	47	-2	-	-	20	24	-5	-	-

<sup>1</sup> See note to Table 4.

democracy as with the saving of their skins and the rich trade of their empire,"<sup>11</sup> and, "No matter how much damage Germany does, sooner or later Britain will defeat Hitler."<sup>12</sup> It will be recalled that in October there was a great clamor from many sources for the opening of a second front against Germany in order to relieve pressure on Russia and catch Hitler while the main body of his army was engaged. When the British government failed to act in the summer and early fall, rumor had it that the British were letting the Russians do their fighting for them. If the difference did not occur through chance, this might explain the greater agreement to the first statement. The greater agreement to the second can be explained by the new confidence instilled in all the democracies as the Russians failed to collapse before the German blitzkrieg. These are the only two differences which seem to me may not have occurred by chance. They represent the only changes meriting attention.

4. *Are there any Significant Differences between Adults and College Students in National Morale?* To answer this question, a sample of 100 Washington State students was compared with a sample of 128 adults. Responses from adults were secured by mailing 250 *Washington State Surveys* to a random list of Pullman, Washington, residents. One hundred thirty-two *Surveys* were mailed to Chicago residents and 75 were sent to adults in Findlay, Ohio. There was no particular reason for the choice or number of surveys sent, since they were released in accordance with my ability to reach certain cities during the summer of 1941. From these 457 *Surveys*, 128 were returned (28 percent of total outlet). The mean scores from the three cities are so nearly alike that the entire group of adults is compared with the Washington State College students.<sup>13</sup> There are two possible difficulties in comparing such samples. First, the adults may not make up a random sample. Getting data by questionnaire is not like giving out scales to students in a classroom. All of the students turn back completed forms, whereas only 28 percent of the adults in this sample returned the *Survey*. Secondly, all did not take the scale at the same time. The adults answered at various times from May through August, 1941, while all students responded on October 1, 1941. However, we have just shown that no statistically significant differences were recorded in the two samples of Washington State students which were separated from each other for a still longer period of time over that interval. On the basis of this evidence, it seems entirely feasible to ignore the very short time difference. The question of whether the adult sample can be treated as representative of adult opinion is the question raised by the use of the mailed questionnaire. There is reason to believe that any selective factors that might operate in the use of questionnaires would not be biasing national morale. Sex is not related to this variable.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> C.R. = 1.85, P = .06      <sup>12</sup> C.R. = 1.74, P = .08

<sup>13</sup> 87 Pullman adults, M = 49.01; 26 Chicago adults, M = 48.99; 15 Findlay adults, M = 48.47 (no differences significant).

<sup>14</sup> For the adults, sex and national moral show no correlation,  $r_{bi} = -.12$ .

TABLE 6. COMPARATIVE ITEM ANALYSIS OF OPINIONS GIVEN BY WASHINGTON STATE STUDENTS AND A SAMPLE OF ADULTS

Washington State Survey of Opinions	Percentage Marked														
	Strongly Agree or Agree				Strongly Disagree or Disagree				Undecided						
	W.S.C. N = 100	W.S.C. N = 128	W.S.C. N = 100	W.S.C. N = 128	W.S.C. N = 100	W.S.C. N = 128	W.S.C. N = 100	W.S.C. N = 128	W.S.C. N = 100	W.S.C. N = 128	W.S.C. N = 100	W.S.C. N = 128			
1. The British are not so much concerned with the saving of democracy as with the saving of their skins and the rich trade of their empire.	59	60	+1	-1	-1	33	30	-3	-1	-1	8	10	+2	-1	-1
2. No matter what happens in this war, democracy will collapse sooner or later.	10	9	-1	-	-	70	76	+6	-	-	20	15	-5	-	-
3. Every able-bodied single man who calls himself an American should volunteer now for military service.	19	23	+4	-	-	70	65	-5	-	-	11	12	+1	-1	-
4. It is good to see the business men who have left private business going to Washington to serve the government.	41	54	+13	6.60	1.97	37	24	-13	6.12	2.10	22	22	0	-	-
5. The military strength of the United States could be assembled in time to give Britain enough aid to defeat Hitler.	47	56	+9	-	-	24	22	-2	-	-	29	22	-7	-	-
6. In modern war the average soldier is just so much cannon fodder.	59	43	-16	6.58	2.43	35	48	+13	6.50	2.00	6	9	+3	-	-
7. There are too many old men trying to run the Army and Navy.	28	37	+9	-	-	49	40	+9	-	-	23	23	0	-	-
8. Any man or woman should be proud to die in the defense of democracy.	37	63	+26	6.44	4.04	38	20	-18	6.00	3.00	25	17	-8	-	-
9. The future is too uncertain to make plans for oneself.	43	33	-10	-	-	46	60	+14	6.61	2.10	11	7	-4	-	-
10. Within six months after war is declared the U. S. will have a totalitarian government.	20	30	+10	-	-	49	60	+11	-	-	31	10	-21	5.32	3.95
11. The U. S. is a democracy in name but not in practice.	22	23	+1	-	-	62	68	+6	-	-	16	9	-7	-	-
12. No matter how much damage Germany does, sooner or later Britain will defeat Hitler.	47	53	+6	-	-	13	22	+9	-	-	40	25	-15	6.22	2.41
13. Whites treat the Negro in the U. S. worse than Germany treats the conquered peoples of Europe.	6	11	+5	-	-	83	71	-12	-	-	11	18	+7	-	-
14. The future looks very black.	38	35	-3	-	-	42	52	+10	-	-	20	13	-7	-	-
15. No one cares much what happens to you.	17	20	+3	-	-	77	74	-3	-	-	6	6	0	-	-
16. There is no chance for the little fellow in business any more.	19	23	+4	-	-	70	70	0	-	-	11	7	-4	-	-
17. The real American should be willing to fight for his country whether it is in the right or wrong.	23	41	+18	5.97	3.01	63	48	-15	6.54	2.29	14	11	-3	-	-
18. The U. S. should declare itself an ally of Britain and send Air Force, Army, and Navy if necessary to defeat Hitler.	29	36	+7	-	-	47	51	+4	-	-	24	13	-11	-	-

<sup>1</sup> See Note to Table 4.

Age may be slightly related.<sup>15</sup> The adult sample ranges in age from 21 to 76 (av. 42). Occupation and class may be regarded as nonassociated factors. Fortune surveys show that "rich and poor, executives and unemployed, think almost identically" on questions pertaining to United States participation in the War.<sup>16</sup> Sectional differences have been held constant by the use of samples with like national morale scores. Any differences detected should be due to the differentials in life and outlook that distinguish college students from adults.

An item analysis shows that only three differences in agreement or disagreement can be said to be statistically significant. More *adults agree* that any man or woman should be proud to die in the defense of democracy<sup>17</sup> and that the real American should be willing to fight for his country whether it is in the right or wrong.<sup>18</sup> There is *greater agreement by the students* to the statement, "In modern war the average soldier is just so much cannon fodder."<sup>19</sup> These three responses throw a great deal of light on the differences in national morale between youths and adults. In terms of fighting and dying for democracy, youths are less ready to give assent, possibly because such assent involves more commitment to actual fighting and dying than it does for adults averaging 42 years of age. It is this segment of attitude which some seize upon to label youth as lacking in high national morale. There is no evidence in the results secured that youths lack confidence in the military power of the nation or show any great reluctance to give Britain genuine aid. Almost a third are in favor of complete United States military participation. However, youths have been taught the horrors of war and they know that probabilities of death on modern battle-fields are high. They know also that they will bear the burden of the actual fighting. They are faced, therefore, with an emotional adjustment which requires more motivation than would be necessary for an adult who lives without a selective service number or expectation that his life must be geared to drastically different conduct.

6. *Is the National Morale of American College Students High or Low?* This research has demonstrated that there are segments of attitudes which make up the cluster called national morale. Judgments of the national morale of classes such as the Negro, Youth, Labor, Soldiers, and Civilians are being made everywhere in current discussion by those who draw inferences from segments. National morale is a very generalized concept including many components. To make intelligent judgments, these components must be understood not only in part but also in their total integration. Merely summing up attitudes in a scale does not necessarily reveal that integration but it does give an index which seems superior to judgments based on single, isolated segments of the variable.

To answer the question of whether American college students exhibit

<sup>15</sup>  $r = -.26 \pm .08$ .

<sup>16</sup> Fortune Survey, *Fortune*, Aug. 1941, 24: 75.

<sup>17</sup> C.R. = 4.04, P = .0001.

<sup>18</sup> C.R. = 3.01, P = .0026.

<sup>19</sup> C.R. = 2.43, P = .015.

high national morale, some standard is essential. The comparison with adults has shown that students definitely differ in one segment of attitude. However, their total national morale scores average almost the same as that of adults when all of the proposed constituent attitudes in national morale are sampled. There is also far greater variability within each sample than between means of any two samples.

The question of high or low national morale may best be answered by comparison of the Oklahoma students who exhibited the highest national morale, with Mid-Western students, who showed the lowest national morale. Table 7 presents these differences. The greatest difference occurs in the *higher agreement* of Oklahoma students to the statement, "Any man or woman should be proud to die in the defense of democracy."<sup>20</sup> One half of all Oklahoma students agreed to this statement whereas only *one out of five* Mid-Western students so agreed. It will be remembered that the largest difference occurred on this statement when adults were compared with Washington State students. In that comparison, 37 percent of the Washington State students agreed to the statement whereas 63 percent of the adults agreed. So we can say in reference to this very important attitude that adults show higher agreement than any group of college students and that Mid-Western students, in particular, display less than a third of the agreement which adults exhibit.

There is a significant difference in *agreement* to the statement, "Within six months after war is declared, the United States will have a totalitarian government." Mid-Western students are much more in agreement with this statement in comparison with Oklahoma students,<sup>21</sup> but there is no significant difference between the Mid-Western and adult sample.<sup>22</sup>

There is a significant difference between Oklahoma and Mid-Western students on the *agreement* to full United States military participation in the war,<sup>23</sup> and yet again, there is no significant difference between the Mid-Western and adult samples. The same kind of situation exists in regard to the confidence which Oklahoma and Mid-Western students display in the ability of Britain to finally defeat Hitler. A significantly *greater agreement* is recorded for Oklahoma students.<sup>24</sup> In comparing the Mid-Western and adult samples, no statistically significant difference can be discovered although ten percent more adults are in agreement.

Significantly *greater disagreement* is expressed by Oklahoma students than by Mid-Western students to the belief that the United States is a democracy in name but not in practice.<sup>25</sup> Comparing Mid-Western and adults' samples on this belief, we find significantly *greater disagreement* expressed by adults.<sup>26</sup>

Therefore, we have found on two beliefs that Mid-Western students are not only distinguished from the student group highest in national morale,

<sup>20</sup> C.R. = 4.69, P = .0001.

<sup>21</sup> C.R. = 3.35, P = .0008.

<sup>22</sup> C.R. = 1.42, P = .16.

<sup>23</sup> C.R. = 2.91, P = .004.

<sup>24</sup> C.R. = 2.90, P = .004.

<sup>25</sup> C.R. = 3.36, P = .08.

<sup>26</sup> C.R. = 3.69, P = .0002.

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TABLE 7. COMPARATIVE ITEM ANALYSIS OF OPINIONS GIVEN BY OKLAHOMA A. AND M STUDENTS AND MID-WESTERN (INDIANA) STUDENTS ON OCT. 1, 1941

Washington State Survey of Opinions	Percentage Marked														
	Strongly Agree or Agree				Strongly Disagree or Disagree				Undecided						
	Okla. N = 100	MidW. N = 100	d	S.E.-diff.	Okla.	MidW.	d	S.E.-diff.	Okla.	MidW.	d	S.E.-diff.			
1. The British are not so much concerned with the saving of democracy as with the saving of their skins and the rich trade of their empire.	42	58	+16	-1	-1	43	30	-13	-1	-1	15	12	-3	-1	-1
2. No matter what happens in this war, democracy will collapse sooner or later.	15	7	-8	-	-	75	80	+5	-	-	10	13	+3	-	-
3. Every able-bodied single man who calls himself an American should volunteer now for military service.	20	8	-12	-	-	60	84	+15	-	-	11	8	-3	-	-
4. It is good to see the business men who have left private business going to Washington to serve the government.	53	43	-10	-	-	24	38	+14	-	-	23	19	-4	-	-
5. The military strength of the United States could be assembled in time to give Britain enough aid to defeat Hitler.	68	52	-16	-	-	13	19	+6	-	-	19	29	+10	-	-
6. In modern war the average soldier is just so much cannon fodder.	42	60	+18	6.95	2.64	43	23	-20	6.50	3.08	15	17	+2	-	-
7. There are too many old men trying to run the Army and Navy.	27	37	+10	-	-	50	34	-16	-	-	23	29	+6	-	-
8. Any man or woman should be proud to die in the defense of democracy.	50	20	-30	6.40	4.69	30	52	+22	6.78	3.24	20	28	+8	-	-
9. The future is too uncertain to make plans for oneself.	33	48	+15	-	-	59	43	-16	-	-	8	9	+1	-	-
10. Within six months after war is declared the U. S. will have a totalitarian government.	16	39	+23	6.87	3.35	53	37	-16	-	-	31	24	-7	-	-
11. The U. S. is a democracy in name but not in practice.	25	33	+8	-	-	68	45	-23	6.82	3.36	7	22	+15	4.86	3.09
12. No matter how much damage Germany does sooner or later Britain will defeat Hitler.	63	43	-20	6.91	2.90	12	15	+3	-	-	25	42	+17	6.57	2.59
13. Whites treat the Negro in the U. S. worse than Germany treats the conquered peoples of Europe.	5	10	+5	-	-	90	80	-10	-	-	5	10	+5	-	-
14. The future looks very black.	45	49	+4	-	-	37	31	-6	-	-	18	20	+2	-	-
15. No one cares much what happens to you.	9	20	+11	-	-	81	73	-8	-	-	10	7	-3	-	-
16. There is no chance for the little fellow in business any more.	17	28	+11	-	-	70	50	-20	6.78	2.95	13	22	+9	-	-
17. The real American should be willing to fight for his country whether it is in the right or the wrong.	38	29	-9	-	-	43	57	+14	-	-	19	14	-5	-	-
18. The U. S. should declare itself an ally of Britain and send Air Force, Army and Navy if necessary to defeat Hitler.	43	24	-10	6.53	2.91	37	61	+24	6.86	3.50	20	15	-5	-	-

<sup>1</sup> See note to Table 4.

but are also distinguished from adults. It will be recalled that Mid-Western students marked *high disagreement* to the statement, "Any man or woman should be proud to die in the defense of democracy," and relatively *low disagreement* to the statement, "The United States is a democracy in name but not in practice."<sup>27</sup> These differences certainly do not demonstrate that most college students have lower national morale than adults. Our limited samples alone restrict generalization. Again, it must not be inferred that the patriotism of any section of the United States is impugned. The important distillate of this research is the discovery that in late 1941 there are great differences to be observed on the readiness of different groups to make great sacrifices for the defense of American democracy. These differences are not as clearly tapped on questions of participation in the war and of confidence in the allies—questions which the public opinion polls have been asking—as on questions testing belief in the superiority of the social structure and the identification of personal goals with national goals.

*IV. Summary.* This research shows that there is great variation in national morale scores within all of the seven samples. The variability within each sample is far greater than the differences between the average scores of the samples. These average scores are crude but useful indices to determine the ranking of samples. Such a ranking places in order of highest to lowest national morale, Oklahoma A. & M., Johnson C. Smith University, University of New Hampshire, an Adult Sample, Washington State College of October 1, Washington State College of May 1, and Mid-Western College. These differences seem to reflect the regional differences which have been identified repeatedly by the public opinion polls on attitudes toward war.

The most revealing aspect of the research comes from an item analysis of the national morale scale. Such an analysis demonstrates clearly that the concept of national morale is a highly generalized concept which has meaning only as the constituent segments of behavior are evaluated. There is much distortion in basing judgments of national morale on single, isolated segments. The importance of gathering all of the pertinent evidence to make judgments cannot be overestimated. The pertinent evidence should include: (1) belief in the superiority of the social structure in the ingroup; (2) degree and manner by which personal goals are identified with national goals; (3) judgments of the competence of national leadership; (4) belief that resources are available to hurl back any threats to the ingroup; (5) confidence in the permanence of the national goals.

The beliefs proving themselves most discriminating in distinguishing samples have to do with the belief in the superiority of the social structure of the ingroup and the identification of personal goals with national goals. In contrast to much current speculation, it seems to me that the people of

<sup>27</sup> An interesting explanation is given by Fill Calhoun, "How Isolationist Is the Mid West?" *Life*, Dec. 1, 1941, 11: 16-20.

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the United States are not so much confused by the workings of our foreign policy as by a confusion over domestic policy. A political democracy exists beyond doubt but there is dissatisfaction with social and economic inequalities. Until the individual can see the necessity of identifying the forward movement of social and industrial democracy in America with the fight for the defense of his and other political democracies, confusion and hesitancy will persist. Americans have found what they wish to fight against; many have not found what there is to fight for.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> On December 12, five days after the United States declared war on Japan, 85 out of the original sample of 100 Washington State students were readministered the *Washington State Survey of Opinions*. The results indicate that the Pacific Coast was not emotionally prepared for the brunt of war which hit it so suddenly. It is true that there were significant increases in agreement to such items as (1) The United States should now, as an ally of Britain, send Air force, Army, and Navy if necessary to defeat Hitler, and (2) No matter how much damage Germany does sooner or later Britain will defeat Hitler. However, lower personal morale was exhibited in the increasing agreement to such items as (1) The future looks very black, and (2) The future is too uncertain to make plans for oneself. The questionnaire also showed the following: (1) 28 percent decrease in those who said that things were going well with them at the present time; (2) 21 percent decrease in those who had previously marked agreement to the question, "Do you think that your family at home feel that they have a regular income during the next year?"; (3) 39 percent increase in those who think the war will force them to leave college before their education is completed.

The total scores on the National Morale Scale showed a definite increase in national morale. Therefore, the results for this sample demonstrate a greater determination to defeat the Axis nations but also a lowered confidence in ability to attain desired personal goals. On December 12, the war had not yet been completely accepted by a peace loving people. (Written Dec. 19, 1941. A complete report is being prepared.)

## PRELIMINARY STANDARDIZATION OF A SOCIAL INSIGHT SCALE\*

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**T**HIS PAPER describes an attempt to construct a scale to measure social insight by means of verbal response. We begin with the working hypothesis that social insight is the ability to recognize in principle in a given situation: (1) the existence and operation of specific substitute responses<sup>1</sup> such as projection, rationalization, regression, sublimation, transference, etc.; and (2) the need of some specific stimulus to adjust group conflicts or tensions, such as a humorous remark to relax a dangerous intensity, a suggested compromise to attain temporary agreement, a face-saving remark to avoid embarrassment and to preserve status (to leave a loophole, a way out, etc.), or to discover the missing part required to complete a pattern of thought (the right formula), etc. The ability to recognize these mechanisms in principle and to apply these formulas in specific social situations like a conference between two or more persons, is not the same as "ability to get along with people," often used as a definition of social intelligence.

It is possible that social insight may have other aspects than the two mentioned. However, we believe that an approach may be made to an operational definition of social insight by limiting the study to these aspects. In this connection, it is evident that we may use to advantage in the measurement of verbal response the distinction made in symbolic logic between (a) the expressive function of language, and (b) the representative function of language. Certain Freudian categories are available to describe the former; and we find in semantical and in syntactical analysis useful categories to describe the latter.

Significant materials for the construction of this scale may be found in case histories of individuals, in problem novels, in items used in existing scales to measure social attitudes, social adjustment and social intelligence, and in the published analyses and records of conference discussions. The method of scale construction consisted in the selection of examples to illustrate the working hypothesis by presenting problem situations that might be reacted to in several ways. A total of 45 items was finally compiled from such sources of which 25 appear in the form of a scale appended to this

\* This research was made possible by a grant of funds from the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota during 1938-1939, and from the Social Science Research Council during 1939-1940. Julius A. Jahn assisted in gathering the materials and in the analysis of the returns.

<sup>1</sup> The mechanism of the substitute response exists whenever an observed verbal or other overt response is identified as replacing a natural but inhibited response. Sometimes the observer is misled into judging the subject on the basis of some more socially approved form of behavior than the original impulse to response.

article. Each correct response was counted as one point. The range of scores on the original 45 items was from 12 to 40 points.

The scale to measure social insight differs from the scales that measure social attitudes, social behavior, and social intelligence in that it attempts to measure the ability to define (i.e., by classifying, diagnosing, inferring causes, or predicting) a given social situation in terms of the behavior imputed to others present, rather than in terms of the individual's own feelings about the others.

A total of 375 persons volunteered to take the social insight test. These were graduate students in social work at the University of Minnesota and members of the staffs, executives, supervisors, case workers, group workers, and secretaries, of several social agencies of the Twin Cities.

The first question to be answered about the scale is: does the social insight scale measure that which it purports to measure? In short, does the scale measure the quality "social insight"? This is the question of validity. To test the validity of the scale three methods were used.

In the first place, the executives and supervisors of several social agencies were asked to rate (independently and confidentially) the members of their staffs who had taken the test by naming those persons whom they regarded as possessing "more than the average degree of social insight." Social insight, it was explained, consisted of the capacity to see into a social situation, to appreciate the implications of things said and to interpret effectively the attitudes expressed so as to appreciate the significance of past behavior, or to estimate the trend of future behavior. It is evident that this definition is not identical with the two-part definition adopted at the outset as the working hypothesis of scale construction. The reason for this discrepancy was to allow more freedom of discrimination than the technical definition permitted. Proceeding in this way, some 65 staff members were rated as above the average in social insight out of a list of 110 persons inspected for this quality. The biserial  $r$  correlation between this dichotomy and the scores of these same persons on the social insight test was +.21. This is a low correlation, but considering the number of persons measured, it is probably statistically significant as not disproving the hypothesis and suggests that there is a relationship between the subjective ratings of presumably competent judges and the scores on the social insight test.

The next check on validity was the correlation between scores of the same persons on social participation<sup>2</sup> and their scores on the social insight test. For 33 students (undergraduates and graduates) in an advanced course in sociology, the Pearsonian  $r = +.149$ . This is again a low correlation but is consistent with the first result on the assumption that social participation scores, which measure total overt intensity of participation in organized groups, are scores that may reflect the use in group situations of the

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the social participation scale, see "Social Participation and Social Intelligence," by the author, in *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, April 1939, 157-166.

quality social insight. Thus, this result also may be interpreted as not disproving the initial hypothesis. Next, a group of 156 social workers in Twin City social agencies were scored on social participation and on social insight. The Pearsonian  $r$  between the two sets of scores was  $+.179$ . Because of the considerable number of cases involved, this correlation is statistically significant at the 5 percent level. This is to say that if a sample of this size is drawn from a universe in which there is no correlation between social participation score and social insight score the probability would be only 1 in 20 of obtaining a correlation of this size by chance. When the correlation ratio was computed on the same data for the 156 cases, the Eta coefficient was higher, i.e.,  $.4257$ . Finally, for 185 students and social workers, the correlation between social participation scores and social insight scores was found to be only  $+.09$ , a nonsignificant correlation but consistent in sign with the previous tests.

The third test of validity was made by computing the critical ratios between the mean social insight scores of groups of persons that would be regarded by competent observers as likely to possess different degrees of social insight. A group of 68 social workers with graduate training was compared with a group of 46 clerical employees in the same agencies. The mean score of the 68 social workers was 34.75 and the mean score of the 46 clerical employees was 27.65. The critical ratio of the difference between the mean scores was 7.23. This is a difference that is statistically significant in high degree, when the conventional test of three standard errors of a difference between means is taken as a criterion. Clearly the social insight scale discriminated sharply between the average scores of these two different occupational groups employed by the social agencies and, furthermore, the scale differentiated in accordance with expectation. The results of the three tests of validity are shown in columns (1) to (4) inclusive of Table I.

The net conclusion from this first test of validity is that all checks are corroboratory. Although the correlations are too low to permit prediction of individual scores, the critical ratio of the group differences shows that the scale discriminates clearly between two levels of skill in the occupational hierarchy of these social agencies. Furthermore, it may be added that each of the 45 items in the original scale was a "self-validating" item. This simply means that the so-called one "correct" answer (of the four responses suggested in each problem) was the answer noted by a competent observer of the problem as the most likely explanation, interpretation, or comment.

Since a satisfactory test of validity is usually expected to yield correlation coefficients of from  $.40$  to  $.70$  with a criterion, it became necessary to make an item analysis of the 45 problem situations to ascertain whether some items were less discriminating than others. Total score on a test is often taken to be such a criterion. Such a criterion is, however, not an independent criterion. Therefore, we selected as an external and entirely independent criterion of the discriminating value of each item, the social participation

scores of the same persons. Besides having the merit of independence, this criterion has the additional advantage of being useful on the hypothesis that a person who scores high on social participation because of memberships in groups and committees and as an officer in organizations, probably attained this group status because he possessed a greater degree of social insight than a person in the rank and file. Proceeding along this line of analysis, the 100 persons who scored highest in social participation were compared with the 100 persons who scored lowest in social participation. Then the critical ratios of the percentage differences of correct answers on each item between these two groups were computed. Twenty of the 45 items had critical ratios of below +0.60 and were discarded as nondiscriminating. The 25 remaining items showed critical ratios of from +0.60 to +2.10. Fourteen items with critical ratios of from .60 to 1.30 were then given a weight of 1; six items with critical ratios of from 1.40 to 1.90 were given a weight of 2; and five items with critical ratios of 2.00 were given a weight of 3. All papers were then rescored on this system of weights (it will be remembered that the original system counted 1 point for each correct answer among the 45 without regard to the discriminating value of any item). The validity tests were then recomputed as shown in columns (5) and (6) of Table I for comparison with the first validity tests.

TABLE I. COMPARISON OF VALIDITY TESTS OF SHORT FORM OF SOCIAL INSIGHT SCALE OF 25 ITEMS WITH THE ORIGINAL FORM OF 45 ITEMS

Tests of Validity	N	Original Form of 45 Items		Short Form of 25 Items	
		Correlations	Significance	Correlations	Significance
1. Ratings by Executives and Social Insight Score	(2) 110	(3) $r_{bi} = +.21$	(4) ?	(5) $r_{bi} = +.36$	(6) Probably significant
2. Social Participation Scores and Social Insight Scores	33 156 185	$r = +.149$ $r = +.179$ $r = +.09$	?	$r = +.336$ $r = +.320$ $r = +.170$	5% level 1% level 5% level
3. Group Diffs. Social workers Secretaries	68 46	C.R. = 7.23	High	C.R. = 9.67	Very high

The results of this item analysis against social participation as a criterion were satisfactory since it will be seen from Table I that all tests of validity in columns (5) and (6) show decided improvement over the results recorded in columns (3) and (4). The correlation coefficients are increased 71 percent in row 1; increased 130, 78 and 88 percent, respectively, in row 2; and the critical ratio, originally large, is increased 33 per cent. Although these percentage increases are large, the coefficients are still too small for any prediction of individual social insight scores. Nevertheless, all the Pear-

sonian coefficients in row 2 are now significant at the 5 percent or the 1 percent level. Finally, the group discrimination, originally high, at a critical ratio of 7.23, is now made even more powerful at a critical ratio of 9.67.

The item analysis has attained three advantageous results: (1) the scale is reduced 44 percent in length, from 45 items to 25 items, with a corresponding reduction in the time for administration from about 45 minutes to less than 30 minutes; (2) the validity of the scale has been increased; and (3) the group differentiating power of the scale has been increased.

Since these results were obtained by use of the social participation scale as an independent criterion to validate scale items, it is interesting to inquire into the kind of groups or organized social activities that were reported by the subjects to form the factual basis of these social participation scores. It will be remembered that we assumed social participation to be an overt manifestation of possession of the quality "social insight." What kinds of group activities did these persons participate in?

The 100 persons with the highest social participation scores: (1) were more heavily represented in memberships in professional, social, and civic organizations, than the low social participation score group; (2) they were affiliated with from two to twelve times as many different groups for each of the twelve categories of groups as the low participation score persons; (3) they participated at higher levels and in larger proportions than the low participation score persons. For example, nearly one half (47 per cent) were on committees as compared to only 10 percent of the low score persons, and about 30 percent (29.4) were officers, whereas only 3½ percent of the low score group were.

Suppose we took the 100 persons with highest scores on social insight and compared them with the 100 persons with lowest scores on social insight, what would be the pattern of participation of these two extreme groups? When this comparison was made, we found: (1) the 100 persons with high social insight scores were more frequently affiliated with political, professional, social, and civic groups than were the 100 persons with low social insight scores. Furthermore, the heaviest concentration of the high group was in professional organizations; (2) the 100 persons with low social insight scores were more frequently affiliated with organization of national youth, business, religious, and study groups than were the 100 persons with high social insight scores. Furthermore, these 100 low score persons showed their heaviest concentration in church work and in subsidiary religious activities; and (3) the 100 persons in the high score social insight group were slightly but uniformly more active at each level of participation (membership, attendance, contributions, committees and offices) than the 100 persons in the low social insight score group, such that for the total participation at each level, the high social insight group averaged about 9 percent above the low social insight group. The consistency between these two sets of analyses of extreme score groups on two different but related scales supplies some

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justification for our selection of the one as an independent criterion to validate the items in the other.

Having shown the evidence for the validity of the social insight scale, the question may be raised, is the scale reliable? Does it measure social insight consistently? In view of the small number of items (25) in the short form of the scale, no reliability coefficients have been computed. It was also considered that the "carry over" effect would be too marked to use the conventional test retest reliability procedure, but in the original 45 item form of the scale, an odd-even item correlation gave an  $r = +.60$  for 41 cases, and an  $r = +.41$  between the score on Part I and the score on Part II. These results may be compared with an odd-even item correlation of  $r = +.40$  for the same persons on the Hunt Social Intelligence Test. Although this comparison is favorable to the social insight scale, it is evident that the reliability problem has not been adequately solved for the social insight scale.

Recent steps taken toward improvement of this first approximation to a dependable instrument is the use of the scale on graduate social work students *before* they enter a systematic course of field work training in case work and followed by a second test *after* completing this course. It is hoped that this procedure will determine whether the scale catches changes that may occur as a result of this training. Since the field work course in question is repeated each quarter during the academic year, it will be possible to add materially to the total number of subjects tested and some additional light may be thrown upon the validity of the scale.<sup>3</sup>

The chief claims that can be made for the social insight scale in its present preliminary short form are: (1) all the results of validity tests are consistent; (2) the scale is so short that it may be introduced into a battery of socio-metric scales; and (3) it has a high discriminating power between occupationally different groups of workers in social agencies<sup>3a</sup> of the Twin Cities.

The short form of the social insight test follows, and we have appended a list of the chief sources from which scale items were adapted. In case research workers desire to use this scale, we are prepared to supply the key when satisfactory guarantees are given to preserve the confidential character of this key.

<sup>3</sup> Preliminary results of this procedure on 17 graduate social work students show an increase in score from 27.3 in October, 1941, to 31.3 in December, 1941, or a gain of four points. This yielded a C. R. of 2.92, thus indicating that the scale is not merely another test of general intelligence.

<sup>3a</sup> As a test of its discriminating value between executives and secretaries, the critical ratio of the difference between mean scores of 17 executives or supervisors (30.94), and 46 clerical workers (23.39), in Twin City social agencies, was found to be 5.14. The small number of executives probably accounts for the lower (but still significant) critical ratio in comparison with the larger group comparisons.

## SOCIAL INSIGHT TEST, PRELIMINARY FORM, 1941

By F. STUART CHAPIN, *University of Minnesota**Directions: Please read carefully:*

In each of the following statements, a situation is described followed by four comments that seem to offer alternative explanations. Social insight is the ability to "see into" social situations that involve individual needs to avoid embarrassment or to achieve some satisfaction as an offset to some frustration.

You are asked to consider each statement upon its own merits. Then indicate by crossing out (X) that letter on the *answer sheet* which corresponds to the one statement which in your judgment is the most appropriate, intelligent, or logical comment upon it. There are no absolutely right or wrong, true or false, correct or incorrect answers in a mathematical sense. Each problem is a matter for judicial analysis and inference. Judgments made by different persons on the same situation may differ. As a guide, you should ask yourself the question, "Which comment represents the most probable inference or conclusion expressed in terms of the one response which will create the least embarrassment or most satisfaction to the person concerned?"

*Please do not make any marks on the test itself, but only on the answer sheet.*

The following example statement and the corresponding mark on the answer sheet illustrate the procedure to be followed:

Mr. Asher, when told that an acquaintance had purchased a new automobile, was heard to criticise him very strongly for spending so much money for a car when he probably could not afford to buy one. Not long after this incident, Mr. Asher himself bought an expensive new automobile. About the same time, he placed another mortgage on his house. Why did Mr. Asher criticise his acquaintance for an act he afterwards performed himself?

- a. Because he probably had "money left to him" upon the death of a near relative.
- b. Criticism of his acquaintance got rid of an "uneasy feeling" about something he contemplated doing himself.
- c. His acquaintance was probably an unsafe driver.
- d. In sections of the country long settled and in which Mr. Asher lived, most houses were heavily mortgaged.

## PART I

1. Joseph Runway occasionally drinks too much. He has a steady job but has never succeeded in all the years of continuous employment in getting the promotion to a better paid assistant managership, which he deeply desires in the firm for which he works. His younger brother had been the "apple of his mother's eye," and now Joseph's wife is very partial to the one son in the family otherwise consisting of three girls. To help Mr. Runway, a friend of the family:
  - a. Takes strong measures to deprive him of access to all liquor and strong drink.
  - b. Advises that he leave home and "take the cure" to correct his tendency to drink.
  - c. Sympathetically hears his story and recognizes the contribution to the security of his family that he has made by steadiness on the job.
  - d. Secretly urges Mrs. Runway to take the children and go away, thus to establish a separate residence leading to ultimate divorce.
2. Mr. H. left high school before graduation to take a job as a clerk in a store. Although still a clerk, he has always had steady work and an income sufficient to enable him to marry, buy a home, equip and maintain it in a very comfortable manner, although this has required him to do without many other things (e.g., children, social-recreational activities, etc.). When Mr. H. is with other people in an informal group, his chief topic of conversation is the quality and cost of the various articles he has purchased for his home. The reason for Mr. H.'s chief topic of conversation is:<sup>4</sup>
  - a. He has ideals of quality and believes "production should be for use rather than for profit."

<sup>4</sup> Reference 5, 156. These references will be found at the end of the test.

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b. He wishes to keep conversation limited to subjects on which he is informed  
c. By talking about subjects on which he is informed, he diverts conversation from subjects he is ignorant of but which most people are informed about and interested in.  
d. He wishes to appear pleasant, to make conversation, and to avoid giving offense.

3. Mr. Smith, a business man, is strongly opposed to suggestions favoring social planning and control of business by government, because he says, "World conditions have caused our depression" and "Industrial cycles are normal and if the government interferes it will be worse." His opposition to government planning and control probably is the result of:<sup>6</sup>  
a. His belief in individual initiative.  
b. His opposition to any form of socialism.  
c. His own business activities just manage to "keep within" the law.  
d. His experience had shown that private business is more efficient than government.

4. The principal of the school attended by James reported that he showed generally bad behavior in the schoolroom, constant teasing and bullying of younger children, and occasional petty thieving. He was conspicuous in classes for his lack of attention and concentration. He was a pale slim boy, rather tall for his twelve years. Out of school, he played little with boys of his own age and was frequently found bullying and teasing younger children. His father was a traveling salesman. James' right arm was broken twice when he was seven and eight years old. When he was nine, his left leg was fractured while in rough play with children. His mother discouraged his playing with older boys. He had a real passion for movies that showed western and adventure stories. His reading consisted of two to three books a week, preferably of the boy adventurer type. James' behavior is due to the fact that:<sup>6</sup>  
a. He is discontented because he cannot go on trips and see the country with his father.  
b. He feels the need to make up for his weak physical condition by gaining mastery and attention of his playmates.  
c. He is an incipient criminal of the "moral imbecile" type.  
d. He is a moron and can never hope to develop a superior intelligence because his parents have mediocre minds.

5. Martha, an overconscientious girl of 19 years, is given to self-analysis. She is always concerned with what others think about her and the things she has done. Martha finds it difficult to start conversations with strangers and frequently analyzes the motives of others. Another trait which is characteristic of Martha's behavior is:<sup>7</sup>  
a. Worrying over possible misfortunes.  
b. Frequent craving of excitement.  
c. Showing consideration of others' feelings.  
d. Preference for reading about something rather than experiencing it.

6. Mr. Jenks when in a restaurant sharply orders the waiters about and is rude and critical about the service he receives. He has not many friends because of his tendency to be bossy and critical toward them. In the office in which he works, he:<sup>8</sup>  
a. Agitates for better working conditions.  
b. Is ingratiating and subservient to his employer.  
c. Is openly critical of the many rules and regulations governing his work.  
d. Tries to give orders to his fellow workers which are only supposed to be given by his superior.

7. Mr. A.'s son is in danger of flunking out of medical school because of low grades and apparent lack of interest and ability in medical courses, but Mr. A. insists that his son stay in medical course and put more effort into his studies. The son however would prefer to take a business course but Mr. A. persistently blocks all attempts to make this change. Mr. A.'s attitude suggests that:  
a. Mr. A. in his youth wanted to become a doctor, but circumstances prevented.  
b. Mr. A. believes that the medical profession is better than that of pharmacy.  
c. Mr. A. believes that the income of his son will be more secure as a doctor.  
d. Mr. A. believes that it is "education in character" to force one's self to do a distasteful task.

8. A man bought an expensive automobile after some hesitation because it cost more than he could well afford to pay. However, when a friend later questioned him as to why he

<sup>6</sup> Ref. 6, 65.

<sup>7</sup> Ref. 5, 145-150.

<sup>8</sup> Ref. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Ref. 6, 56.

bought such an expensive car, he gave several reasons, but the one reason he did *not* give was:

- His wife and children needed to get out into the country and he bought a big car so that they could all drive together.
- The car would save him money in the long run because it would not need the repairs that an older or cheaper car would.
- The friend had bought a car almost as expensive although his income was not much greater.
- He expected to receive some money from an estate by the death of a critically ill relative.

9. A boy, aged ten, had temper tantrums and was disobedient to his parents. In school, he refused to follow directions, was a trouble maker, and was often fighting. Both parents were living, and he had one younger sister. He told imaginary stories about his parents' wealth and about all his toys and travels. He interrupted others to talk about himself. Frequently, he reported to teachers that other children were picking on him. In order to overcome these behavior difficulties, this boy should be placed:<sup>9</sup>

- In activities with children who are older or more mature than he.
- In activities at home and school in which he can more easily and immediately succeed.
- In activities at home and school with more responsibility.
- In activities with children who will accept him as a leader.

10. Mr. Thomas frequently protests against the irreligious attitudes of others, asserts the religious depravity of persons with religious beliefs conflicting with his own, is ardent in uncovering and crusading against vice and immorality in his community, and is held up by the members of his church as a model and virtuous person. Mr. Thomas's conduct indicates that:<sup>10</sup>

- He has been brought up in an extremely religious family.
- He is trying to become a leader in his community.
- He has impulses to do the things he publicly is fighting against.
- He feels he must "save" others.

11. A young man reacted with intense emotion to any indulgence in alcoholic drinks. If any of his friends as much as took a single drink, he went out of his way to denounce them in most emphatic terms. The explanation was:<sup>11</sup>

- That his mother had been a leader in the Women's Christian Temperance Union.
- That his father had been a drunkard, who had treated his mother brutally and finally deserted her.
- He was himself a secret drunkard at late parties.
- His ancestors came from strict Puritan stock.

12. A weakly child was overprotected by his parents and other adult relatives, who were the only persons with whom he came into frequent contact. On entering school, he was ignored or rebuffed by his classmates. To this situation, he reacted by:<sup>12</sup>

- Avoiding other children and spending his time in daydreaming.
- Fighting with the bullying other children.
- Trying to attract attention by competing in games played by the group of children.
- Attempting to get other children to accept him by persistently "hanging around" or "tagging along" with them.

13. Mrs. Thompson constantly consulted physicians about her daughter's health at the slightest sign of illness. She bought her expensive clothing and toys. She frequently irritated the child with excessive attention. She complained that the child would not obey her, and at times she punished her severely for slight misbehavior. Mrs. Thompson's reactions toward her daughter probably indicate that:<sup>13</sup>

- She was inclined to be a hypochondriac.
- She was trying to do for her daughter things which she had been denied as a child.
- Because her daughter was the only child, she expected too much of her.
- She had resentments toward the child which she was trying to cover up.

<sup>9</sup> Ref. 6, 144.<sup>10</sup> Ref. 6, 69.<sup>11</sup> Ref. 5, 52.<sup>12</sup> Ref. 5, 176.<sup>13</sup> Ref. 6, 230.

14. A  
15. A  
16. A  
17. In  
18. A C

<sup>14</sup> Ref.

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14. Mrs. Harvey, age 22, disapproved of smoking, especially by her husband or by women. She also disapproved of card playing and refused to attend many movies because the love scenes were "immorally presented." She is socially isolated, taking part in few activities with other people. She often asserts that people are more lax in moral matters in present times than they were in earlier times. Her attitudes on these matters suggest that:<sup>14</sup>

- She was morally superior to her associates.
- As a young girl on several occasions she had been severely scolded by her parents for repeating "sex" stories heard from other girls.
- As a girl, she had been taught that such activities as card playing, etc., were not approved of by her church.
- As a girl, she had been isolated from such activities and therefore had not learned to enjoy them.

15. A boy, 10, dominated his brother, 12 and his sister, 14. When he was opposed in his domineering behavior, he became abusive and destructive. In school, he refused to abide by ordinary routine activities and directions, and he:<sup>15</sup>

- Asserted that the teachers were picking on him.
- Said he had no interest in any of his school work.
- Would not play or take part in competitive games in which he might be defeated.
- Was well behaved and did his work only in his manual training class.

16. A boy, age 15, is complained about by his parents and teachers. He stays out late at night, is irresponsible, uncooperative, apathetic, and inconsiderate. He is unpopular and annoys other children. He has tendencies to lie and steal whenever he can "get away with it." He has little or no interest in school. In the following list of factors, indicate the one which probably would be most closely associated with this boy's misbehavior:<sup>16</sup>

- He is lazy.
- He is disobedient in school.
- He has an introverted personality.
- He has an extroverted personality.

### PART II

17. In an executive staff meeting, Mr. Goodrich, sales manager and a loyal and respected man, hears for the first time of a new "selling point" recently introduced by a competitor of the firm in the eastern sales area. This information was supplied to the staff conference by Mr. White, the brilliant young production manager. The managing director is presiding over the staff conference as chairman. Should he:<sup>17</sup>

- Ask Mr. Goodrich to discuss the point in detail so that the others may profit by his ideas?
- Ask Mr. White to elaborate the point in detail and give his views?
- Ask Mr. Goodrich to report on the results of his recent and extended trip of inspection of the Far West sales territory?
- In the interests of sales efficiency and promotion, require Mr. Goodrich then and there to explain why he did not know of this new point?

18. A Community Fund in a large city is faced with the problem of preserving good working relations among the social agencies which are members of the Fund, to preserve the advantages of a single common campaign of soliciting for financial support, and to promote the idea of cooperative planning for the community. In this situation, the financial campaign falls short by 10 percent of the goal needed to keep the agencies operating at the existing rate of efficiency and skilled services. Cuts in the budgets of all agencies are made, but one large and powerful member agency, X, refuses to take its proportionate cut and maintains through the Chairman of its Board of Directors and through its Executive, that it meets a special need and should not be cut at all, but rather have its budget raised. Which of the following procedures should the Chest adopt in order to preserve its function in the city?

- Allow the agency X to withdraw from the Fund and try to raise its budget by a separate financial campaign.

<sup>14</sup> Ref. 6, 73.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>16</sup> Ref. 2, Table 17.

<sup>17</sup> Ref. 4.

b. Give the agency X the amount it needs and distribute the cut to other fellow agencies.

c. Call a conference of the Chairman of the Boards and the Executives of all other agencies to hear the arguments of the officials of agency X, and try by amicable discussion to reach a mutual understanding.

d. Reprimand the officials of agency X for lack of consideration of fellow agency needs and threaten to drop it from the Fund unless it conforms.

19. During a conference, the discussion becomes so argumentative and heated that everyone seems to be angry at someone else. Finally, one member who seems to be getting the worst of the argument angrily stalks out. The chairman of the group should then:

- Immediately declare the meeting adjourned.
- Send someone to ask the departed member to return.
- Ask for a vote whether the meeting should be adjourned.
- Ignore the departure and continue with the order of business remaining.

20. The manager and his chief associates in a high grade employment agency are considering the problem of recommending James Smith for a position. How much information about Smith should go into the letter of recommendation? Smith became unemployed when the printing company for which he has been working continuously for the past five years closed because its funds were tied up by a bank failure. Smith has the technical qualifications for filling a more important position in any one of three vacant positions in other firms. Assuming that the letter of recommendation should mention the fact that ten years ago Smith had been discharged from another firm for an unexplained cause, which one of the three following firms should he be recommended to:<sup>18</sup>

- A firm with an unknown personnel policy.
- A firm with an established and respected personnel policy.
- A firm whose personnel policy has been questioned on grounds of ethical dealings with employees.

21. A large organization is faced with the need of adapting its policies to changed conditions in the community. In order to supply the Directors of the organization with unbiased facts for the determination of major policies, a research bureau is set up as a special department within the organization. After consideration of the ways and means of making the best use of the new fact-finding function, the Directors decided to establish the research bureau:

- With authority immediately to carry out in practice, its own recommendations derived from fact-finding.
- With responsibility to report its findings directly to the Board of Directors.
- With responsibility to report its findings to the chief executive only.
- With the stipulation that its findings be reported to a subcommittee of the Board on planning, of which the chief executive is to be a member, but not the chairman.

22. A dispute arose among the employees and officers of a small manufacturing company as to the use of an adjoining parking lot owned by the company. Some held that favoritism was shown in the assignment of the better parking spaces. The procedure for the manager to follow would be:<sup>19</sup>

- To ignore a trivial dispute of this sort on the assumption that it would clear up of itself, given time.
- To promptly and carefully adjudicate the dispute.
- To terminate the parking facilities upon due notice.
- To reprimand both parties to the dispute.

23. A committee was appointed by a club to draft a formula that would solve a problem of conflict among the members due to the opposition led by a wealthy Mr. Jones to plans for locating the new club house. The committee met and carefully considered the problem; after discussion, it was decided to:

- Appoint Mr. Jones as a member of the committee.
- Take a caucus and force a favorable vote.
- Delay action until the opposition could be converted.
- Expel Mr. Jones from membership in the club.

<sup>18</sup> Ref. 1, 35.

<sup>19</sup> Ref. 4.

## STANDARDIZATION OF A SOCIAL INSIGHT SCALE 225

24. A group of citizens of X assemble to hear a visiting architect describe a new plan for the location and construction of a needed high school building for the town. A main highway cuts through the town. Homes are located in sections on both sides of the highway and some persons who live on one side also own property on the other side. Should the chairman of the meeting, who was asked by the School Board to obtain a judgment on public opinion:

- Limit the meeting to the architect's presentation?
- Summarize the architect's address and give the summary to the School Board?
- Declare an open discussion of the address, record how the individual votes were cast, and transmit this information to the School Board?
- Limit comments on the address to neutral persons who live outside the town, thus avoiding undue acrimony?

25. The Directors of a settlement house and those who contributed largely to its support were concerned about reports of radical meetings held in its rooms by residents of the slum neighborhood, some communistic and some fascist. It was decided to hold a meeting with Board members to ask questions of the resident staff of social workers. Some feeling developed on the part of the social workers who felt embarrassed or resentful and on the part of Board members who felt that something was being withheld. The situation grew more and more strained until the tension was suddenly broken by the following remark of a staff member:

- "A young resident of the house confessed to making inflammatory remarks at a meeting a month ago but was not reappointed at the expiration of her contract because she had a nervous breakdown and had to go to a convalescent home for rest."
- "The executive of the settlement spotted a notorious labor racketeer two weeks ago attending a meeting and talking too much. Since the man had a police record and this was called to his attention, he dropped out of subsequent meetings."
- "I remember one man distinctly, who was very radical in his statements at meetings, but he has moved away to another city."
- "Oh, you know, there was someone around here who talked against the government, but she was a Republican."

1. Elliott, Lulu Jean, *Social Work Ethics*, A.A.S.W., no. 3, June 1931.
2. Francel, Edward W., *A Comparative Study of Delinquent and Non-Delinquent Boys*, M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1938.
3. Guilford, J. B. and R. B. "Personality Factors, S, E, and M, and Their Measurement," *Jour. of Psychology*, 1936, 2: 109-127.
4. Rorty, M. C., "Ten Commandments of Good Organization," *Amer. Management Association*.
5. Shaffer, L. F., *Psychology of Adjustment*, 1936.
6. Sherman, Mandel, *Mental Conflict and Personality*, 1938.

### COMMENT

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG  
Bennington College

The word "insight" has been used hitherto to designate a certain behavior capacity which some people have to a greater degree than others. Those who have it to a very high degree in specialized fields are called clairvoyants, deviners, mind-readers, etc. Others are credited with possessing it to the degree that they behave in given situations in a manner which achieves the desired results, especially where these results depend upon one's ability, symbolically, to "put oneself in the place of" other people and to detect what we believe to be the actual activating conditions as contrasted with apparent, superficial, or deceptive, influences. As such, insight is properly a highly valued characteristic, and one which students, researchers, social workers, and executives are frequently exhorted to acquire. The trouble thus far has

been that exhortation to *have* insight, either as a gift or as an acquisition, has received much more attention than has an analysis of just what the capacity is and the means of acquiring it.

Mr. Chapin, in the foregoing paper, has made the first serious attempt to define the term and give some account of what insight is. One may object to the particular definition and measure he has invented, but those who object should propose some other definition equally specific as to what insight does or does not include. Hartmann tells us that perhaps the most acceptable definition of insight to the Berlin school of Gestalt is "the phenomenal correlate of the 'closing' of a configuration."<sup>1</sup> I recommend that definition for further treatment by the Committee on Conceptual Integration. I doubt if the social worker, the administrator, or the scientist, in need of a technique for determining which persons possess insight to a greater or lesser degree, will be much helped by the above gestaltish definition unless someone will tell us exactly how one may observe in different people the different degrees of this "phenomenal correlate of the 'closing' of a configuration." Chapin has faced this practical task and offers us for the first time, so far as I know, a series of operations by which a definitely specified quality or capacity may be gauged.

I shall not take advantage of this opportunity to repeat or expatiate upon the general subject of the need for better definitions of sociological words and more especially the merits of operational definitions. I read a long paper on that subject at the last meeting of the Society and I am still waiting for the refutation of the points I then raised.<sup>2</sup> Controversy over operational definitions, I think, is soon destined to disappear. There is, however, another aspect of tests such as Chapin proposes which has as yet received inadequate attention and which may be quite crucial to the problem of validity which occupies the larger part of his paper. I shall confine my remarks to this one aspect of the matter.

Many of the situations used in Chapin's test require the respondent to interpret certain personality traits or to assign reasons for certain stated actions. That is, the respondent is required to select the right "motive" for the described behavior. Four possible reasons are stated of which one is deemed the "real" or true reason, and the insight of the person taking the test is rated according to his ability to select this one approved reason. This is the recognized and approved method in all multiple choice tests. It is agreed by all that the validity of the results of the test depends upon the established validity of the answer which the key recognizes as correct. The present test consists of a multiple choice of motives for specific actions. In discussing its validity, therefore, one becomes involved in the whole controversy over the attribution of motives in human conduct.

As Mills<sup>3</sup> and others have shown, motives for action will always be assigned in terms of the vocabulary which the motive-mongers happen to be familiar with. In a theological framework, motives are in terms of sin, evil, and virtue; in a natural scientific framework, motives are assigned in terms of tensions in a field of force, gravity, electro-magnetic attraction; for large numbers of people, pleasure and pain are adequate motives for most conduct; in the psychoanalytic framework, motives are assigned in terms of rationalizations, projections, transference, sublimation, etc. The present test accepts, in part at least, the latter vocabulary of motives as adequate criteria. But it must not be forgotten, as Mills and others have pointed out, that this motive vocabulary is that of an

<sup>1</sup> G. W. Hartman, *Gestalt Psychology*, 188, New York, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> "Operational Definitions in the Social Sciences," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 47: 727-745.

<sup>3</sup> C. W. Mills, "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, Dec. 1940, 904-913.

... upper bourgeois patriarchal group with strong sexual and individualistic orientation. When introspecting on the couches of Freud, patients used the only vocabulary of motives they knew; Freud got his hunch and guided further talk. To converted individuals who have become accustomed to the psychoanalytic terminology of motives, all others seem self-deceptive.

In like manner, to many believers in Marxism's terminology of power, struggle, and economic motives, all others, including Freud's, are due to hypocrisy or ignorance. An individual who has assimilated thoroughly only business congeries of motives will attempt to apply these motives to all situations, home and wife included. It should be noted that the business terminology of motives has its intellectual articulation, even as psychoanalysis and Marxism have.<sup>4</sup>

I call attention to this crucial consideration because I do not think that a generally valid test of the type here attempted can be expected until the social sciences arrive at a unified theoretical system which commands the general agreement that, for example, gravity or the electro-magnetic field commands in the physical world, and which therefore produces unanimous agreement as to the "motive" of a bomb in falling on a church. When a phenomenon like this, however, is considered adequately explained by an empirical law, such as the law of falling bodies, we dispense with such concepts as "motive," which is merely a mentalistic term invented like the rest of the mentalistic vocabulary, to bridge the apparent gap between certain behaviors of man and the rest of the natural universe. These mentalistic terms will be needed only until we become accustomed to observing language and its effects in the usual scientific manner instead of explaining these effects by the postulation of "mental" factors. That is, when we get the idea that language is to be studied like other behavior, the need for the mentalistic vocabulary disappears. As Bloomfield has said:

The scientific description of the universe . . . requires none of the mentalistic terms, because the gaps which these terms are intended to bridge exist only so long as language is left out of account. . . . It is clear even now, with science still in a very elementary stage, that . . . science can account in its own way for human behavior—provided always that language be considered as a factor and not replaced by the extra-scientific terms of mentalism.<sup>5</sup>

In short, it is silly to argue whether the motives which a Marxist, a Freudian, and a Methodist respectively ascribe to a behavior event are the "true," "correct," or "real" ones. Each are "correct" in terms of their own postulates, logic, and vocabulary. It does not follow, of course, that each is equally useful in every situation. Which is the preferable type of explanation in given concrete situations usually will be determined by its compatibility with the dominant thoughtways that govern other aspects of life in the situation in question. It happens that the contemporary world is dominated to an increasing degree by the thoughtway of natural science. The incompatibility of this thoughtway with the mentalistic vocabulary of a bygone age is exactly what has produced the movement for the scientific study of human behavior including his speech. But there is no point in arguing about the relative "truth" or "reality" of the "motives" ascribed to conduct under each system. Poincaré's<sup>6</sup> dictum that if a phenomenon admits of one explanation, it will also admit of any number of other explanations, all accounting in their way for the phenomena observed, is obviously applicable here. A lot of useless argument could be avoided by simply recognizing this essentially linguistic nature of all explanation and not wasting time in pursuit of explanations "real" or "true" in an absolute sense. Practical usefulness and compatibility with the thoughtways governing other departments of life should rather be our concern.

<sup>4</sup> C. W. Mills, *op. cit.*, 912.

<sup>5</sup> L. Bloomfield, *Linguistic Aspects of Science*, 13, Chicago, 1939.

<sup>6</sup> H. Poincaré, *Electricité et Optique*, Paris, 1901.

As part of this practical program, I favor the invention and progressive improvement of definitions and tests by the methods used in Chapin's paper. Aside from their practical value, even in their relatively imperfect form, these tests serve as analytical instruments which reveal the direction in which a more perfect solution lies. In further attempts to validate the test, I think increasing validity will be found to the extent that the test situations represent practical adjustments, i.e., where the "correct" answer describes what a trained executive, social worker, or other person would be practically certain *to do* in a stated case. Obviously, we have to avoid test situations in which the "correct" answer will depend upon whether the respondent is a Marxist, a Republican, a devout Methodist, or a psychoanalyst. I think many of Chapin's situations are open to this objection.

In short, a valid test can be invented when sufficient consensus can be secured as to the criteria by which it is proposed to validate the test. Such criteria are found, in the end, in scientific laws governing the phenomena in question. These criteria gain general acceptance because they are based in the first place on carefully recorded and generalized observations of the phenomena in question under stated conditions, and in the second place, can always be corroborated by rechecking the observations.

More generally valid sociometric tests will be possible, therefore, when the growing body of positive knowledge in the social sciences provides increasingly adequate criteria of validity. In the meantime and conversely, imperfect tests, representing as they do first approximations, are useful in helping to derive increasingly reliable scientific laws. This is the process by which the relatively stable, positive, and accurate knowledge of the physical sciences has developed. In contributions toward this end, Mr. Chapin has been a most indefatigable worker. In his present paper, he reveals again his originality, courage, and skill in inventing instruments which contribute to the general end sought by all science.

## Official Reports and Proceedings

**Notice Concerning Book Reviews.** All communications with reference to book reviews, whether from publishers or members, should be sent to

Book Review Editors  
327 Sterling Hall  
University of Wisconsin  
Madison, Wisconsin.

Thomas C. McCormick and Leland C. DeVinney are the new book review editors, but communications addressed to them *personally* are less likely to receive immediate attention than will be the case if the above address is used.

**American Sociological Society** has received from the regional societies their designations of members on the Executive Committee, as provided in the new constitution. These are: J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska, Mid-West Sociological Society; Paul H. Landis, State College of Washington, Pacific Sociological Society; E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University, Southern Sociological Society; C. R. Hoffer, Michigan State College, Ohio Valley Sociological Society; Carl C. Taylor, Washington, D. C., District of Columbia Chapter; B. O. Williams, University of Georgia, Rural Sociological Society.

That leaves representatives to be appointed from the Southwestern and Eastern Societies at their meetings this spring.

Alfred M. Lee has accepted the chairmanship of the Public Relations Committee for the ensuing year. The program and policy of this committee will be substantially as it has been in the past.

**The Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Society will be held in Cleveland, Ohio, December 28-30, 1942. The headquarters will be at the Hollenden Hotel.**

### INVITATION FOR CONTRIBUTED PAPERS FOR THE NEXT ANNUAL MEETING

Graduate students and members of the society generally are invited to submit reports on sociological research for possible presentation at its annual meeting at Cleveland, Dec. 28-30, 1942. Reports contributed by students and nonmembers should be recommended by some member of the society. Each should be accompanied by an abstract of not over 500 words. Each paper deemed worthy of presentation will be assigned a length of time in relation to its value and general interest. All papers will be read by a committee consisting of Howard W. Beers, U. of Ky., James A. Quinn, U. of Cincinnati, and Walter C. Reckless, Ohio State U. Papers should be sent to the chairman, Howard W. Beers, U. of Ky., Lexington, Kentucky, before September 1, in order that there may be time for reading and arranging the program. None will be considered after that date.

### COMMENT ON THE PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE REPORT

I should like to comment on the report of the Committee on Public Relations, printed on Pages 90 to 92 of Volume VII, No. 1 of the *American Sociological Review*. My letter of April 5, 1941, was quite brief. Certainly I had no intention of submitting it as an adequate statement of my position. This was done without my consent; I

received only an *ex post facto* notice that the chairman was "taking the liberty" of having the letter distributed to the other committee members. I was not invited to submit a fuller statement. That fuller statement I should now like to make.

A scientific society is presumably a professional body, with standards of relevance and significance which cannot be appreciated by those who have not undergone the requisite professional training. This being the case, it would seem wise to censor—I do not boggle at the word or the fact—all papers and speeches which are likely to pander to the lust for headlines rather than to yield accurate information.

What I am saying amounts to this: no Public Relations Committee of any scientific society should hold that its functions are adequately discharged when it has merely furnished summaries among which reporters may select as they see fit. The summaries distributed should be carefully chosen, and in many cases should even be interpretations rather than simple digests. If a committee or its chairman cannot be trusted to exercise this selective and interpretive function, certainly an occasional reporter cannot be trusted either. The issue, it seems to me, is essentially this, "Should a professional society interpret itself to the public, or should such interpretation be left to chance?"

I make bold to suggest that the Public Relations Committee take its task far more seriously, and with a heavier sense of responsibility, than has hitherto been the case. Otherwise, only the most loud-mouthed and sensational members of the Society will be regarded as the representative sociologists.

HOWARD BECKER, *University of Wisconsin*

February 20, 1942  
Madison, Wisconsin

#### SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC RELATIONS

Despite the press of war news, the New York newspapers and the wire and feature services carried reports of the Society's annual meetings throughout the country. *The New York Times*, among New York newspapers, was particularly co-operative, assigned special reporters each day to aid in the coverage of the Society's meetings, and devoted approximately six columns to reports of the papers delivered. The Associated Press, United Press Associations, Science Service, and the special correspondents of such papers as the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* and *Star-Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Detroit News*, etc., carried reports that reflected the cooperation of their reporters with the Society's Committee. Special articles appeared in *Newsweek* and the *New York Times Magazine*, after the meetings, on special aspects of the program.

The Committee wishes to acknowledge particularly the cooperation of Miss Emily C. Davis, Science Service, Washington, D.C.; Gladwin Hill, Special News Service, The Associated Press, New York; David Dietz, Science Editor, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, Cleveland; Miss Diana Hirsh, *Newsweek*; Miss Anna P. North, *Time*; Allen Schoenfied, *Detroit News*; Benjamin A. Fine, *New York Times*; Miss Catherine Mackenzie, *New York Times*; Henry Platt, Editor, *Pre-Date*, United Press Associations; Lawrence J. Ackerman of the University of Connecticut, Chairman, Publicity Committee, Allied Social Science Associations; and W. C. Waterman of Brooklyn College, Chairman of the Society's Committee on Local Arrangements.

Respectfully submitted,

ALFRED McCLEUNG LEE, *Chairman*

*New York University*  
March 7, 1942

## REPRESENTATIVES AND COMMITTEES OF THE SOCIETY

*Social Science Research Council.* Warren S. Thompson, Scripps Foundation, Miami U., 1942; Ernest W. Burgess, U. of Chicago, 1943; Kimball Young, Queens College, 1944.

*American Council of Learned Societies.* F. Stuart Chapin, U. of Minn., 1942; James H. S. Bossard, U. of Penn., 1944.

*American Association for the Advancement of Science.* George A. Lundberg, Bennington College.

*The Summer Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science,* has been cancelled on account of the war. Hence, no delegates have been appointed.

*Representative to the American Documentation Institute.* Irene Barnes Taeuber, Washington, D. C.

*Committee on Budget and Investments.* Frank H. Hankins, Smith College, chairman; E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt U.; Robert S. Lynd, Columbia U.

*Representative to the Council of Human Relations of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.* J. L. Hypes, U. of Conn.

*Committee on Nominations.* See February 1942 *Review*, page 67, substituting A. R. Mangus for M. C. Elmer.

*Committee on Social Research.* Raymond V. Bowers, U. of Rochester, chairman; Henry D. Sheldon, Jr., U. of Rochester; C. Arnold Anderson, Iowa State College; Wilson Gee, U. of Va.; Noel P. Gist, U. of Mo.

*Committee on Honorary Members.* T. Lynn Smith, La. State U., chairman; E. Franklin Frazier, Howard U.; Clarence Senior, U. of Kansas City.

*Committee on Resolutions.* To be appointed.

*Committee on Program.* Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University, chairman; J. K. Folsom, Vassar College; Conrad Taeuber, U. S. Dept. of Agri.

*Committee on Local Arrangements.* J. E. Cutler, Western Reserve U., chairman.

*Committee on Public Relations.* Alfred M. Lee, New York U., chairman; Robert Cooley Angell, U. of Mich.; S. H. Chapman, Yale U.; W. E. Lawrence, Western Reserve U.; Elizabeth Briant Lee, South Norwalk, Conn.; Cecil C. North, Ohio State U.; Robert E. Park, U. of Chicago; George E. Simpson, Penn. State College; Paul Walter, Jr., U. of N. Mex.; Willard Waller, Barnard College, Columbia U.; Steuart Henderson Britt, George Washington U.

*Membership Committee.* Katharine Jocher, U. of N.C., chairman; Harriet Mowrer, 727 Monticello Place, Evanston, District: Chicago (including Evanston); C. Arnold Anderson, Iowa State Col., District: Iowa; Ray E. Baber, Pomona Col., District: California; Arthur L. Beeley, U. of Utah, District: Utah, Nevada; John B. Biesanz, Winona State Teachers Col., District: Minnesota; Walter B. Bodenhafer, Washington U., District: Missouri; H. C. Brearley, Peabody Col., District: Kentucky, Tennessee; Gladys Bryson, Smith Col., District: Massachusetts; Morris J. Caldwell, Dept. of Public Welfare, Madison, Wisconsin, District: Wisconsin; Seba Eldridge, U. of Kan., District: Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma; John F. Cuber, Kent State U., District: Ohio; Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Inst., District: Negro Colleges; E. W. Gregory, U. of Ala., District: Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi; C. R. Hoffer, Michigan State Col., District: Michigan; Carl S. Joslyn, U. of Md., District: Maryland, District of Columbia, Delaware; Otto Klineberg, Columbia U., District: New York City; John H. Mueller, Indiana U., District: Indiana; Frederick B. Parker, Bucknell U., District: Pennsylvania, New Jersey; James M. Reinhardt, U. of Nebr., District: Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming; Edgar A. Schuler, La. State U., District: Louisiana, Arkansas; Leland B. Tate, Va. Poly-

technic Inst., District: Virginia, West Virginia; E. D. Tetreau, U. of Ariz., District: Arizona, Texas, New Mexico; W. Russell Tylor, U. of Ill., District: Illinois (south of Chicago); H. Ashley Weeks, State Col. of Wash., District: Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana; Bessie Bloom Wessel, Conn. Col. for Women, District: Connecticut, Rhode Island; Vincent H. Whitney, U. of Maine, District: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont; Ellen Winston, Meredith Col., District: North Carolina, South Carolina.

*Research Planning Committee.* To be announced later.

*Committee on Social Aspects of Housing.* Julius B. Maller, U. S. Housing Authority, chairman; P. G. Beck, Farm Security Admin., Howard G. Brunsman, U. S. Bureau of the Census; F. Stuart Chapin, U. of Minn.; Dorothy Dickins, Miss. State College; Gladys R. Walker, U. of Pittsburgh.

*Section Chairmen.*

1. Social Psychology, Kimball Young, Queens College.
2. The Family, Robert G. Foster, Merrill-Palmer School.
3. Social Theory, Theodore Abel, Columbia U.
4. Population, Elbridge Sibley, U. S. Bureau of the Budget.
5. Measurement, C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College.
6. Community and Human Ecology, A. B. Hollingshead, Indiana U.
7. Section on Criminology, J. P. Shalloo, University of Pennsylvania.

*Conference and Session Chairman.*

1. Social Aspects of Housing, J. B. Maller, U. S. Housing Authority.
2. Relation of Sociology to Business and Industry, H. P. Fairchild, New York U.
3. The General Social Science Course, J. L. Woodward, Cornell U.
4. Joint Session with the American Association of Labor Legislation—Nels Anderson, Works Projects Administration.
5. Session of Contributed Papers, Howard Beers, U. of Ky.
6. Four General Sessions of the Society. Chairmen to be announced.

**NOTE ON SECTIONS**

In accordance with the advice of the Executive Committee, the number of sections has been somewhat reduced in the tentative program for the 1942 meeting and several sessions or conferences on certain topics have been introduced. The new constitution makes no provision for permanent sections, but contemplates that the number and topics of sections be determined each year. It does, however, provide (By-laws, Art. III, Sec. 3c—page 103, February 1942 *Review*) that any 25 members may petition for additional sections up to April 1st. As this date is now past, petitions for this year will be received up to May 15th.

The fact that certain of the previous sections are not allotted a place on the program this year does not indicate that they may not be given a place next year or later. Furthermore, it is expected that important papers which might have been included in one of the former sections may be included in the programs of sections announced. Thus a paper which would have been presented in the former Section on Sociology and Psychiatry may be included in the program of the Section on Social Psychology. The first six sections listed will have two sessions each, and the others will have only one session each. It is contemplated that there will be four sessions of the society as a whole for papers of general interest to all.

MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR 1942<sup>1</sup>

The symbols before the names indicate special classes of members, as \* Life Members, \*\* Emeritus Members, † Sustaining Members, ‡ Honorary Members.

The letters after the names indicate the interests reported by each member, as (a) General and Historical Sociology, (b) Social Psychology, (c) Methods of Research, (d) Social Biology, (e) Educational Sociology, (f) Statistical Sociology, (g) Rural Sociology, (h) Community Study, (i) Sociology and Social Work, (j) Teaching of Social Sciences, (k) The Family, (l) Sociology of Religion, (m) Sociology and Psychiatry, (n) Section on Criminology, (o) Political Sociology, (p) Human Ecology. Capital letters indicate leading interests.

## CHAPTER MEMBERS—REGIONAL AND SPECIALIZED GROUPS

No. 1. University of Utah Sociological Society, Salt Lake City, Utah  
 No. 2. Sociology Club of the University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio  
 No. 3. Ohio Valley Sociological Society, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio  
 No. 4. District of Columbia Sociological Society, University of Md., College Park, Md.  
 No. 5. Society for Social Research of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.  
 No. 6. Southern Sociological Society, Florida State College, Tallahassee, Fla.  
 No. 7. Eastern Sociological Society, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York  
 No. 8. Mid-West Sociological Society, Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois  
 No. 9. Pacific Sociological Society, Washington State College, Pullman, Wash.  
 No. 10. Rural Sociological Society, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York  
 No. 11. Southwestern Sociological Society, E. Texas State Teachers Col., Commerce, Texas

Abel, Theodore F., Palisades, N.Y., a c o  
 Abernethy, George L., U. of S.Dak., Ver-  
 million, S.Dak., a g k l o  
 Abram, Robert C., 110 N. Glenwood Ave.,  
 Columbia, Mo., a b l  
 Abrams, Ray H., 408 S. Lansdowne Ave.,  
 Lansdowne, Pa., a b k l m n  
 Akers, Elmer, 1624 Alpha St., Lansing,  
 Mich., c i k N  
 Alaimo, Philip James, 110 N. Main St.,  
 Camden, Ohio, A b k l  
 Alapas, Peter, 316 South Ave., Wilkinsburg,  
 Pa., c f k i N p  
 Alexander, Frank D., 2793 Peachtree Rd.,  
 Atlanta, Ga., c g h j k  
 Alinsky, Saul D., 8 So. Michigan Ave.,  
 Chicago, Ill., h n o  
 Allen, Leroy, 1414 E. Fourth Ave., Win-  
 field, Kan.  
 Allport, Floyd H., 485 Buckingham Ave.,  
 Syracuse, N.Y., a B c f g k o  
 Alpert, Harry, 720 Riverside Dr., New  
 York, N.Y., A b c h o p  
 Amann, Dorothy, S., Methodist U. Library,  
 Dallas, Texas  
 Anderson, C. Arnold, Iowa State Col., Ames,  
 Iowa, a b c G k  
 Anderson, Nels, 1734 New York Ave., N.W.,  
 Washington, D.C.  
 Anderson, Odia W., 1330 Wilmot St., Ann  
 Arbor, Mich.

Anderson, Viola, 52 Anderson Ave., Port  
 Richmond, Staten Island, N.Y.  
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Walker, Gladys R., 221 N. Homewood Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Walker, Harry J., Howard Univ., Washington, D.C.

Waller, Willard, Barnard Col., New York, N.Y.

Wallin, Paul, 5717 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill.

\*Wang, Tsi Chang, Room 615, 51 Canton Rd., Shanghai, China

Waples, Douglas, 5800 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill., b c

Warner, Wellman J., Dickinson Col., Carlisle, Pa., A b c k L O

Warren, Roland L., Alfred Univ., Alfred, N.Y., A b e j k o

Waterman, Willoughby C., Brooklyn Col., Brooklyn, N.Y., g i J k

Watkins, Mark Hanna, Fish U., Nashville, Tenn.

Watson, Frank D. & Amey E., 773 College Ave., Haverford, Pa., c e f i j k m n

Watson, Goodwin, 525 W. 120th St., New York, N.Y., b o

Watson, Linville, Univ. of Penna., Philadelphia, Pa., a b h j k

Watson, Maud E., 2240 W. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich.

Watson, Walter Thompson, S. Methodist Univ., Dallas, Texas, b g H i n p

Watts, Fred G., 217 W. Midland, Shawnee, Okla., a j k n

Weaver, Mr. and Mrs. W. Wallace, Univ. of Penna., Philadelphia, Pa., I j k m p

\*Weber, Harry F., State Teachers Col., Lock Haven, Pa.

\*Webster, Hutton, R.F.D. 2, Box 326-A, Menlo Park, Calif.

Weiler, Theodore C., 51 Washington St., Middlebury, Vt., A d i

Weinberg, S. Kirson, 5245 Ingleside Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Weinfeld, William, 716 13th Ave., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn., F

Weissman, Florence, 670 West End Ave., New York, N.Y., i k

Weller, Forrest L., 71 Park St., Elizabeth-tow1, Pa., a 'b k l

Wells, Carl D., 4923 15th St., N., Arlington, Va., a e h k p

Wesley, Oscar, Drexel Inst., Philadelphia, Pa., a b e i k

Wessel, Bessie Bloom, Conn. Col., New London, Conn.

Wheeler, Mary Phelps, Univ. of S.C., Columbia, S.C., e g h i j k

\*Whelchel, James O., 1382 S. Denver St., Tulsa, Okla., A

Whelpton, P. K., Scripps Fndn., Oxford, Ohio, c f g k p

Whetten, Nathan L., Storrs Agri. Exp. Sta., Storrs, Conn., c d G k

White, Mrs. Eva Whiting, 264 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

White, R. Clyde, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., c f h i

Whitehouse, Herbert, 3800 A Humphrey St., St. Louis, Mo., a j

Whitney, Vincent Heath, Univ. of Maine, Orono, Me., f g h i

Whyte, William F., 6102 S. Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill., H n o

Wildes, Harry Emerson, Valley Forge, Pa.

Willey, Malcolm M., Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn., a f j

Willging, Norbert E., 3031 7th St., N.E., Washington, D.C., i n

Williams, B. O., U. of Georgia, Athens, Ga.

Williams, Richard Hays, Univ. of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y.

Wills, Elbert Vaughan, Treasury Dept., Procurement Div., Washington, D.C., a b E j

Wilson, Logan, Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La., a B c e n

Winch, Robert F., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., a b c f K m

Windsor, P. L., Univ. of Ill. Library, Urbana, Ill.

Winston, Sanford & Ellen, 120 Forest Rd., Raleigh, N.C., D f g i n

Wolff, Kurt H., 2119 N. Fitzhugh, Dallas, Texas, a c h l n

Woll, Milton, 420 E. 86th St., New York, N.Y., a b c e f p

Wolters, Gilbert, St. Benedict's Col., Atchison, Kan.

Wood, Arthur L., 590 Winspear Ave., Buffalo, N.Y., a c h N

Wood, Jane H., 1218 Spring St., Madison, Wis., C f h

Wood, Margaret M., Russell Sage Col., Troy, N.Y.

Woods, Erville B., Hanover, N.H., d g h j

Woodward, Julian L., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y., D e j n

Woofter, T. J., Jr., 4318 Warren St., N.W., Washington, D.C., c f g i

Woolston, Howard B., Univ. of Wash., Seattle, Wash., B c f

Wooten, Mattie Lloyd, Box 3685, Denton, Tex., a f g h i k

Wormer, Grace, State Univ. Library, Iowa City, Iowa

Wright, Verne, Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., a b e i o

Yeager, Kennett W., 3510 Iowa St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Yentis, David, 3000 Lee Highway, Arlington, Va., b F h p

Yoder, Fred R., St. Col. of Wash., Pullman, Wash., a b g o

Young, Benjamin F., 62 Belvedere Pl., Yonkers, N.Y.

Young, Donald R., Univ. of Penna., Philadelphia, Pa.

Young, Hobart N., Food Res. Inst., Stanford Univ., Palo Alto, Calif., a b c i

Young, Kimball, Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.

Yuen, Shai-yue, 807 Sunflower Rd., Cleveland, Miss., c f g H k

Zeleny, Leslie D., State Teachers Col., St. Cloud, Minn., A b E j k n

Znaniecki, Florian, Univ. of Ill., Urbana, Ill.

## CURRENT ITEMS

### ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MEETINGS

**A.A.A.S.** announces that the meeting of the Association and affiliated societies at Ann Arbor, June 22-29, 1942, has been cancelled because the calendar of the University of Michigan has been changed by the academic speed up program so that it will be unable to be the host of the societies on the above dates. Plans are maturing to make the Christmas meetings in New York the most profitable the Association has ever held.

**American Council on Education**, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., has published the *Proceedings* of the Conference of College Presidents on the problems of higher education during the war. This meeting of about a thousand persons, mostly college presidents and high administrative officers, at Baltimore, January 3 to 4, 1942, was the largest group of collegiate administrative officers ever to assemble. They adopted sixteen resolutions after thorough discussion dealing with allocation of man power, acceleration of education, exchange of information, credit for military service, student health, and military service. The *Proceedings* are free to those who registered and will cost others not more than one dollar.

**The American Council of Learned Societies** is sponsoring an Institute for Intensive Training in Portuguese at the University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont, June 15-Aug. 22, 1942. Since the ten weeks' course (costing about \$230) is limited to 25 and the seven weeks' course (costing about \$165) is limited to 15 persons, those interested should communicate with the Council at once, 1219 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

A limited amount of financial aid is available for qualified persons who are unable to meet the full expenses of the Institute.

**American Documentation Institute** has agreed to serve as a depository for the papers of the Sociological Research Association. Any one interested in these papers, many of which never have been published in full, may obtain them in microfilm at a nominal cost at a later date. A list of the papers available, with the document numbers and cost in microfilm and photoprint, will be printed in the *Review*.

The Institute is developing a scientific service of great possibilities with which sociologists should be familiar. It represents an effort to apply modern technological devices to the permanent recording and cheap distribution of scientific materials. It is rapidly becoming more than a visionary hope that the space now occupied by a book will be sufficient for eight or ten volumes of the same size. It is possible that within one hundred years the present printed book will be as obsolete as a bull cart. The chief obstacle, of course, is habit and the capital investment in publishing. Scientists should take the lead in developing the habits that must accompany the technics of improved communication.

Those interested should address the American Documentation Institute, Science Service Building, 1719 N Street N. W., Washington, D. C.—R.B.

**American Library Association** is accumulating a reserve of scientific journals for world libraries whose files are being broken by the war. It has purchased ten sets of Volumes 6 and 7 of the *Review*. It urges that no scientific journals be destroyed or sold for waste paper before the owner has communicated with Wayne M. Hartwell, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York. What you destroy or sell for pulp may be just what the A. L. A. needs to complete the broken files in the libraries that have suffered from the war.

**The American Philosophical Society**, Philadelphia, has given a grant to Edgar Zilsel to continue his study of the sociology of science in the period of Galileo.

**The Census Bureau** is determined to effect every reduction in non-Defense expenditures of the taxpayers' money that is at all possible, so there may be more funds and more material available for the supreme purpose of winning this war. Accordingly, the general distribution of Census publications and other releases, as practiced in peacetime, is discontinued. Hereafter, reports will only be sent, when available, in response to specific, written requests

which should briefly explain your need so that substitute material may be sent if the publication specifically requested is not available.

Because of the great variety of reports, some are already in process of being printed or in our stock room for distribution. Therefore, as your name now appears on our mailing list, you may, for a short time, continue to receive such reports in response to the pre-war requests you made for them. But after this pending distribution has been completed, no more reports will be forthcoming save those specifically requested by you hereafter. . . . You are earnestly requested to carefully evaluate your needs for Census publications and limit your future requests to an absolute minimum. . . . Upon request, the Bureau will be glad to furnish you with a list of the libraries in your state which maintain a file of Census publications. You are reminded, also, that most of the final published Census reports may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.—J. C. Capt, Director.

*The Chamber of Commerce of the United States* has issued a very valuable brochure through its Committee on National Defense, L. Ward Bannister, chairman, Denver, Colorado. It is called "Business Men's Organizations and the War Program." It contains an excellent statement of Civilian Defense objectives, and also a list of all state Defense Councils, offices of the F.B.I., offices of Division of Priorities, Division of Contract Distribution, army field department offices, corps area and departments, and naval purchasing offices.

It is to be hoped that the statement, "The survival of this nation demands that labor and management settle their present and future difficulties promptly and without interference to production" will not be interpreted to mean that labor must make all the concessions. The statement is true enough, but if it results in legislative and business policies which treat labor as disloyal when it demands a decent living wage (\$2,000-\$2,500), it can destroy more morale in a month than we can build in five years.

If you "freeze" labor while some "patriots" (?) are getting ten thousand to a million dollars a year, this nation may not survive. Business has a more serious responsibility than turning out the tools. Whether the war will be won depends to a great extent upon how business behaves during the war effort; whether the war was worth winning, will depend to a great extent upon how business behaves after the war is won.—R.B.

*The Committee on Conceptual Integration* has set up an Advisory Committee (North, Phelps, Bain, and one to be appointed) to aid the general chairman, R. V. Bowers; a Sub-Committee on Methods, (Bowers, Parsons and one to be appointed); and a Sub-committee on Current Projects, C. C. North, Ohio State University, in charge of Definitions, and H. A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, in charge of Generalizations.

The new Sub-committee on Methods will provide bibliographies, digests, and working manuals on the techniques available for work in conceptual integration. The Sub-committee on Current Projects provides a clearing house for those working in this field. A clearing house for Definitions has existed for some years but Mr. North will supervise it this year. The clearing house for Generalizations is new this year. Since the value of clearing house depends on its completeness, it is hoped that as many workers in these fields as possible will register their projects with North and Phelps. This can be done without joining the C.C.I. Specific information from the clearing houses will be given anyone who sends a self-addressed card or envelope to North or Phelps.

H. P. Fairchild has expressed interest in receiving definitions from C.C.I. workers. These should be sent to C. C. North who is one of the *Dictionary's* Advisory Editors as well as the C.C.I. chairman of Definitions. All decisions as to publication naturally rest with the *Dictionary* staff.

Those interested in testing definitions in connection with S-theory should write to S. C. Dodd, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N.Mex.

The General Chairman will communicate with the whole membership by running brief notices in Current Items. Those who desire to receive the full reports of the C.C.I. should send 50 cents to the General Chairman, Raymond V. Bowers, University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.

*The Eastern Sociological Society* will meet in the Berkeley-Carteret Hotel, Asbury Park, New Jersey, on April 25-26, 1942. The Saturday morning session will be devoted to re-

ports on sociological research. All members of the Society are urged to submit reports on research projects for possible inclusion in this program to its chairman, Everett Stonequist, Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York. Graduate students or nonmembers may also contribute reports on recommendation of some member of the Society. All documents will be read by a committee consisting of Stonequist, Bowers, and Benoit-Smulyan.

Two separate sessions will be held Saturday afternoon, one on the "Sociology of the Labor Role," Lyford Edwards, chairman, and papers by F. J. Roethlisberger and E. W. Bakke; the second on "Sociological Contributions to the Study of National Morale," papers by Hans Spier and Harold Lasswell. There will also be two sessions Sunday morning. One of these will be in charge of the "Committee on Sociology as a Profession," Harry Alpert, chairman, with a panel discussion on the subject "The Skills of the Sociologist: Their Nature and Utilization." The second session will be in charge of J. K. Folsom, on "The Sociological Approach to Marriage Problems."

The annual dues of \$1.00 are now payable for the year 1942. Immediate payment will save additional expense to the Society. Julian Woodward, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., is secretary-treasurer. Send dues to him. Talcott Parsons, of Harvard University, is president.

*The Instituto de Altos Estudos em Ciencias Economicas, Politicas e Sociais* is an institution for graduate study and scientific research in the social sciences which was formally founded in Rio de Janeiro on July 26, 1941. The Instituto has been privately organized by a group of prominent Brazilian scholars and government officials who conceive it as an instrumentality for cooperation in the social sciences between Brazil and the United States.

Program and policies of the Instituto, which is Brazil's first institution for graduate work in the social sciences, are based upon the educational philosophy, standards, and practices of the outstanding graduate faculties of the United States. The Instituto's scientific quarterly *Pesquisa* ("Research"), invites the contributions and critiques of American social scientists. A monograph series is also provided for by the Research Division. Both the quarterly and the monographs will appear in English and Portuguese editions.

Since the possession and preservation of freedom for teaching and research conducted under the auspices of this Instituto are essential for the achievement of scientific work, this Instituto should not be financially dependent upon any government in such fashion that political control may result. To retain scholastic freedom, and at the same time build up a research and reference library, secure the essential statistical laboratory equipment, funds for research, for exchange professorships, and for both national and exchange scholarships, this Instituto must turn for assistance to private foundations, institutions of higher learning, and scholars of the United States and Brazil. Therefore, the Committee on Endowment of the Instituto is asking contributions of books and publications in the social sciences. The Instituto would appreciate greatly a gift of the *Proceedings and Publications* of the American Sociological Society, past and future, and should likewise be extremely grateful for contributions of technical books and publications from the members of the American Sociological Society.

Contributions may be addressed to Dr. Alice de Toledo Tibiriça (President of the Instituto Carlos Chagas, and Director of the Instituto dos Servicios Socios, Brazil's Social Work School), Chariman, Committee on Endowment of the Instituto de Altos Estudos em Ciencias Economicas, Politicas e Sociais, Edificio Jornal do Commercio, Sala 423, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

*The Journal of Legal and Political Sociology* has been founded, the first issue to appear in October, 1942. It will be published semiannually until quarterly status can be achieved after the war.

A reduction of the annual subscription price will be given to all members of the American Sociological Society.

The editorial staff is as follows: Robert M. MacIver (Columbia), Bronislaw Malinowski (Yale), Karl N. Llewellyn (Columbia), Roscoe Pound (Harvard), T. V. Smith (Chicago); editor, Georges Gurvitch (New School for Social Research); associate editor, Kingsley Davis (Pennsylvania State College).

All members of the society who are interested in subscribing or contributing should address the editor, Dr. Georges Gurvitch, 610 West 111th Street, New York, New York.

*Nankai Institute of Economics*, Nankai University, Shapingpa, Chungking, China, which was temporarily suspended by the war, has issued the January, 1941, number of its

*Social and Economic Quarterly.* Frank H. Hankins has this issue and will be glad to send it to anyone who is interested. Anyone who wishes to contribute funds, periodicals, or books to the Institute may use the above address.

**The National Academy of Sciences** has established a National Science Fund, 515 Madison Ave., New York, to accumulate and administer funds contributed to the promotion of research. The purposes and needs are set forth in a pamphlet, free on request, "Philanthropy in Science," in which I read, page 3, ". . . large or small gifts for all physical and biological sciences." This is little short of disgraceful. It begins to look as if the physical and biological sciences are intent upon destroying the culture that has given them such and substance—more and more revolutionary technological changes with no scientific thought as to the social problems created and intensified thereby; more expensive and dangerous toys for a human race that is moronic in social intelligence and infantile in social behavior; millions for physical and biological research but not one cent for social research.

Fortunately for mankind's future, the social sciences will continue to develop without the support of the National Academy. It begins to be questionable whether the National Academy should or can continue to exist if it insists on following its vested interest, blind-as-a-bat, socially unintelligent policy of refusing to recognize and promote scientific research into the social phenomena of which its own existence is merely an infinitesimal manifestation.

Many scientists would like to leave their entire estates, if any, to some scientific foundation but I certainly would not for an instant consider the National Science Fund as it is at present constituted and administered.—R.B.

**The National Association for Nursery Education**, at its biennial meeting in Detroit, October, 1942, created a commission under the leadership of Rose Alschuler, of Chicago, to promote the welfare of all preschool children in all defense and war planning.

The new president, Amy Hostler, of Mills Training School, 69 Bank Street, New York, will welcome correspondence with all who are interested in the work of the N.A.N.E.

**The Ohio Valley Sociological Society** will hold its annual meeting on the campus of Ohio State University, April 24-25, 1942. All members who have papers ready for presentation should communicate with President E. H. Sutherland, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, or Secretary John C. Cuber, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, at once. Dues should be sent to Mr. Cuber.

All sociologists who happen to be in this region are cordially invited to attend the meetings.

**The Population Association of America** will hold its next annual meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey, May 1-2, 1942. P. K. Whelpton, Miami University, is president. Conrad Taeuber, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., is secretary. Communications concerning the program and the general work of the Association should be addressed to Mr. Taeuber.

**Public Affairs Committee**, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, has issued pamphlets 62, 63, 64, and 65, under the following titles: *How to Buy Life Insurance*, by Maxwell S. Stewart; *More for Your Money*, by Carol Willis Moffett; *How to Check Inflation*, by John M. Clark; and *Prostitution and the War*, by Philip S. Broughton.

Needless to say, these are all up to the now famous high standards of Public Affairs Pamphlets—of which more than three million have been sold. This number should reach five million by January, 1943. If the nation is bombarded by facts, perhaps we shall get through this war without the emotional debauch and hysterical aftermath which characterized the last war. So far, we have had relatively little of it. One wonders if twenty years of rapid expansion in the social sciences from grade to graduate schools may be at least part of the reason. Perhaps mankind is learning to think more rationally about social phenomena. If this is true, the Public Affairs Committee deserves some of the credit.

Now you can get all the Public Affairs Pamphlets in print, and those forthcoming, to a total of seventy, for \$5.00. ("What a lot of reading for five bucks!") If you already have some of them, you may check the ones you want and have your subscription extended to the total of seventy. Here is a bargain that should do much to help reach that goal of "Five Million by '43,"—"Facts will win the war and help to win a decent peace."—R.B.

**Sociological Research Association** has made arrangements for depositing its papers and proceedings with the American Documentation Institute. See above, the item on the work of the American Documentation Institute.

**Sociometry** has begun the publication of a series of monographs. The first of these is titled, *Developments in Social Psychology 1930-1940*, by Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., and Ruth Gallagher. The price is one dollar postpaid from Beacon House, Inc., or *Sociometry*, Beacon, New York.

This is an admirable start-off number and we hope the *Sociometry* Monograph Series will have a long and fruitful life and add many major monographs to its list.

The **Southern Sociological Society** held its seventh annual meeting on April 3-4 in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The Read House was the headquarters. There were divisional meetings on the changing population picture, social welfare, teaching of sociology, social research, defense and readjustment, and recreation. The Society has a membership of 265.

**U. S. Department of State.** Francisco Walker-Linares has come to the United States to establish contacts with cultural centers. His special field is the scientific organization of labor. He will study labor laws in this country during his present trip.

Professor Walker-Linares teaches sociology in the University of Chile, Santiago, Chile, and is also a counselor of that institution.

David Vela, of the University of Guatemala Law faculty, is in the United States. He has devoted considerable attention to the customs and history of the Central American Indian. While here, he will tour the Southwest and visit the Office of Indian Affairs as well as the universities and museums that have good collections and specialists in North American ethnology.

Carl C. Taylor, Head, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare Bur. Agr. Eco. U.S.D.A., has been sent to Argentina for one year to study human problems in connection with rural life. Mr. Taylor will also visit other South American countries during his tour of duty.

The Department is also sending T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University, and N. L. Whetten, University of Connecticut, to Brazil and Mexico respectively. Their assignments are similar to that of Dr. Taylor.

The **White House Conference on Children in a Democracy**, 122 East 22 Street, New York, has issued *Bulletin No. 1*, January, 1942, on "Community Projects for Child Welfare." It outlines plans for a community directory, lists the state chairmen, discusses speakers' bureaus, and contains much valuable information on this subject. The *Bulletin* sells for six cents a copy, \$2.00 for a hundred.

#### NEWS FROM COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

**University of Cincinnati.** Earle E. Eubank will be on leave of absence during the second semester. He has been named an associate editor of the *Dictionary of Sociology*, which is being brought out by the Philosophical Library with H. P. Fairchild as editor.

The second of a series of studies concerning Cincinnati has just been received from the Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University. It is entitled *Cincinnati Building Permits—Trends and Distribution, 1908-1938* and is written by James A. Quinn, Earle Eubank, and Lois E. Elliott.

**University of Connecticut**, Storrs, Conn. Nathan L. Whetten, of the Agricultural Experiment Station, has been given a leave of absence to accept a year's appointment with the U. S. Dept. of State for study and advisory services in Mexico. His headquarters will be in Mexico City and he may be reached through the American embassy. He will leave for Mexico in May.

**Hofstra College**, Hempstead, Long Island. Joseph S. Roucek has been appointed chairman of the departments of political science and sociology.

**Indiana University.** Frank L. Sweetser is on leave during the second semester and has taken a position in the Office of the Coordinator of Information in Washington, D. C. Mary Bess Owen has been appointed part-time instructor in his place.

Frances Butts has been appointed full-time research assistant to Harvey J. Locke in con-

nection with his study of differential factors between divorced couples and happily married couples.

Edwin H. Sutherland will teach this summer in the University of Washington at Seattle.

**Kent State University**, Kent, Ohio. John F. Cuber has been appointed Director of the Communications Division of the County Civilian Defense. This division is essentially a morale agency. It operates a speakers' bureau, has a press representative, and is the chief "public relations" agency for the County Civilian Defense Council.

Leonard Bloom, on leave this year to teach in the University of California, Los Angeles, is remaining there as assistant professor of sociology. His successor has not yet been appointed.

**Louisiana State University**. T. Lynn Smith has accepted a one-year appointment with the U. S. State Department as Rural Sociologist to Brazil. He is attached to the American embassy in Rio de Janeiro. During his leave, E. H. Lott will serve as head of the department of sociology and Harold Hoffsommer will serve as head of the department of rural sociology.

**University of Louisville**. Robert I. Kutak is active in local defense activities. He has been cooperating with the Louisville Defense Council, particularly with respect to setting up research projects which will facilitate the work of the Council.

Samuel C. Newman has read the proofs of his book on *Employment among College Students*, soon to be published by the American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D. C.

Charles H. Parrish, of Louisville Municipal College (a college for Negroes affiliated with the University of Louisville), is serving on the board of directors of the Louisville Urban League (as is S. C. Newman), working on some problems of the war effort as they particularly affect Negro Americans. Mr. Parrish is also continuing research for his monograph on color discrimination among Negroes.

**Miami University**, Oxford, Ohio. Erich Franzen will be on leave the second semester, working on a research project financed by the Institute of International Education.

Alver I. Jacobson, who is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at Ohio State, will teach Mr. Franzen's classes the second semester.

**Michigan State College**. At the fall meeting of the Michigan Sociological Society, held at Michigan State College, committees were named for the joint study of criminology and propaganda.

The Michigan State Agricultural Experiment Station has recently published *The Community Situation as It Affects Agricultural Extension Work* (Special Bulletin 312), by C. R. Hoffer and D. L. Gibson.

**Morehouse College**, Atlanta, Georgia. The third annual Forum Series of the department of sociology was conducted weekly from October 8 through December 10, 1941. The average attendance was fifty-nine. The audience was made up of people from all walks of life. Nine speakers discussed various aspects of the place of the Negro in our culture: economic, educational, political, artistic, criminal, and race relations.

**Muskingum College**. During the second semester, Eric Dale will teach political science and sociology. Mr. Dale received his doctorate from the University of Connecticut.

W. L. Ludlow's syllabus on the family was published in February by the Radcliffe Press of New Concord. This syllabus has been used for six years in mimeographed form at Muskingum and several other colleges.

**New York University** has introduced a new course in the graduate school for the training of managers of penal institutions. Lectures from executives of various penal institutions will supplement the class work. In addition, service internships, one each, in the following fields have been provided: Penal Psychiatry; Clinical Psychology; Special Education; and Institutional Management. More will be established as the work develops. This is one of the first steps toward putting penal administration and service on a professional basis.

Alfred McClung Lee has a chapter on "Public Opinion" in a forthcoming symposium on *Social Control* to be published this spring by D. Van Nostrand. Lee recently completed a special survey on program effectiveness for the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He is also serving as a member of the public relations commission of the Federal Council of

the Churches of Christ in America and has accepted the chairmanship of the Public Relations Committee of the American Sociological Society for 1942.

**Ohio State University.** Frederick E. Lumley is on leave during the Winter quarter. He and Mrs. Lumley are spending the winter in Florida.

C. C. North is an advisory editor of the *Dictionary of Sociology*, a Philosophical Library project under the editorship of H. P. Fairchild.

Jack Harris, assistant professor of anthropology, is on leave to join the staff of the Coordinator of Information, Col. William Donovan, Washington, D. C.

**Ohio Wesleyan University.** Antonin Obrdlik has been called to Washington as political attaché at the Czech Legation. His work will be taken over by J. Milton Yinger, who has almost completed his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin. Mr. Yinger is the author of two chapters in a forthcoming book edited by Harry Elmer Barnes.

**Purdue University.** The board of directors of the American Country Life Association voted early this year to suspend active operation during 1942 and to move headquarters to Purdue University, where records and files will be placed in the custody of O. F. Hall. Ernest Burnham of Kalamazoo, Michigan, was elected president and O. F. Hall was elected secretary.

J. R. Leevy is directing a survey of housing problems in Gary, Indiana.

T. K. Noss, J. R. Leevy, and O. F. Hall were among 150 Hoosiers invited to a dinner meeting in Indianapolis, December 9, 1942, by Governor Schricker to consider social planning during and immediately after the war.

**State Teachers College,** Winona, Minnesota, has arranged for the exchange of John Biesanz, of the division of social studies, and José B. Acuña, of the University of Costa Rica, for one year, beginning March 1, 1942. Mr. Acuña is one of the leading educators in Central America, specializing in the social studies, which will greatly aid him in interpreting Central American culture to North American students. Mr. Biesanz is equally able to interpret North American culture to Latin Americans. He also plans to do some research while in Costa Rica.

Several Central American students are already at Winona and several Minnesota students plan to accompany Mr. Biesanz to Costa Rica.

**University of Toledo** is starting a special program of public service training in the social sciences. The director is Charles J. Bushnell. He will be assisted by an advisory committee composed of the president of the University, the dean of Administration, the director of Graduate Study and the heads of the social science departments of economics, education, history, political science, psychology, home economics and sociology.

Ersel LeMasters has resigned to enter National Red Cross work in Washington, D. C.

Rosemary Featherstone and Elmer Louis are new part-time teachers of sociology. They are leaders in social work and education in Toledo.

The **State College of Washington**. Joseph Birdsell of Harvard University has accepted the position of instructor in anthropology. He fills the place occupied by Donald Collier, who has gone to the Field Museum in Chicago.

**Western Reserve University.** Mary Schauffler has completed a study of one aspect of regionalism. The title is *The Suburban Community, a Sociological Analysis of Four Residential Suburbs in the Cleveland Metropolitan Region*. Miss Schauffler also teaches in the Flora Stone Mather College.

Upon the completion last June of twenty-five years as dean of the School of Applied Social Sciences, J. E. Cutler retired from that position and is now devoting himself to a part-time teaching schedule in the department of sociology. Leonard Mayo is the new dean.

N. N. Puckett is our broadcaster this year. He has participated in Western Reserve's Cleveland College radio program over station WHK, giving four talks on Racial Antagonisms.

**Wheaton College**, Norton, Massachusetts. Paul T. Cressey is on sabbatical leave for the current semester. He will spend his time on a study of recent social and economic changes in the southern Appalachian mountains, concentrating primarily on two or three mountain communities in Kentucky. The Social Science Research Council has given a grant-in-aid for

the study. Mr. Cressey would like to get in touch with any members of the Society who have research interests in this area.

Margaret Knights, who has just completed the residence requirements for her doctor's degree at Columbia University, will teach Mr. Cressey's classes this semester.

**William and Mary College.** Myron Heidingsfield has been appointed assistant professor in economics and business administration and a Federal Works Agency Consultant in the postwar survey of Research in Recreation.

**Yale University.** The January, 1942, issue of the *Bulletin of the William Graham Sumner Club* contains the opinions of many eminent men about A. G. Keller as teacher, man, scientist, pal, playmate, fighter, friend, and man of common sense, wit, work, and wisdom. Nobody knows how much Keller knows about the Lord knows how many things, but "Keller on Keller" suggests that he knows more about himself than is given most men to know about themselves. He "retired" in January—which means he has a quarter or a third of a century in which to work like a Trojan to build up the walls of Troy against the assaulting hosts of Hercules—the weak, the sulky, the muddle-headed, the apologetic, the essentially unscientific. Quite a feller, Keller—and I think more than ever that it should be the "Sumner-Keller Klub."—R.B.

James G. Leyburn's volume, *The Haitian People* (Yale University Press, 1941), has been awarded the John Anisfield Prize for the best book published during the year in the field of racial relations in the contemporary world.

Yale University has reduced the requirements for the master's degree from two to one year. An essay may or may not be required as each department sees fit. The undergraduate schools are going on a year-round program divided into three terms. At least for next year, the Graduate School will continue on the two-semester basis.

The Sociology Club has been addressed thus far this year by Walton H. Hamilton, of the Yale Law School, on "The Folkways of the United States Supreme Court"; Dr. C.-E. A. Winslow, of the Yale Medical School, on "Health Problems of Defense"; Bernhard J. Stern, of Columbia University, on "Society and Medical Progress: Aspects of the Sociology of Science"; and Joseph S. Roucek, of Hofstra College, on "The American Sociologist Looks at His European Counterpart."

A. G. Keller concluded his service of over forty years of teaching at Yale at the end of the first semester, and on January 17 a dinner was held in his honor, attended by nearly two hundred friends, students, and admirers. Mr. Keller will be on sabbatical leave the second semester, at the end of which he will formally retire.

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# BOOK REVIEWS

## BOOK REVIEW EDITORS

LELAND C. DEVINNEY AND THOMAS C. McCORMICK  
*University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin*

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*Language in Action. A Guide to Accurate Thinking.* By S. I. HAYAKAWA.  
New York: Harcourt Brace and Company. Pp. 260. \$2.00.

*Language Habits in Human Affairs. An Introduction to General Semantics.*  
By IRVING J. LEE. New York: Harper and Brothers.

These two books are intended to popularize the alleged science of semantics. I shall look at them from the standpoint of my own professional, philosophic interests; but I am nevertheless seriously of the opinion that a sociological approach towards them, which would deal with the emergence and acceptance of this pseudo-science as a symptom of social pathology would be more rewarding than a philosophic analysis of its fallacies and absurdities.

My first observation is that this alleged science has, in spite of the popular belief to the contrary, little if anything to do with the work being done by professional philosophers on meaning and on communication: the work of such men as Cunningham, C. W. Morris, Urban, Werkmeister, and a host of others. This belief is disseminated by the semanticists themselves, who are rather generous in their acknowledgments of indebtedness. But it would seem, if one judges from what they write, that they have read with little profit some of the work they refer to. Between the pseudo-science of semantics and the philosophical work on meaning there is a radical difference: the latter springs from specific problems, like those of verification and truth. Semantics, in contrast, has such vague aims as furnishing "an air-purifying system against the poisons of verbal superstition and pernicious propaganda," improving reading habits, and increasing the fruitfulness of the discussions we enter into, and through verbal means increasing our wisdom, our sense of human fellowship and our enjoyment of life (Hayakawa, xii and 13-14). This heterogeneity of aims goes hand in hand with the lack of specific subject matter, and it makes of semantics an *olla podrida* into which the writer dumps whatever scraps he may have on hand: epistemology, semiosis, axiology, rhetoric, aesthetics, logic, metaphysics, psychology, and Eddingtonian philosophy, all contribute to the pot. But why are some fallacies discussed and others ignored? And why does the semanticist accept as unquestionable one philosophy of art in complete disregard of others?

Worst of all are the semanticist's claims about the relation of language to psychic phenomena, which remind one distinctly of the claims for snake oil at county fairs. The science of general semantics, Lee informs us, is the key to the problems which baffle the psychiatrist and the psychoanalyst. And to prove it, he gives us the case of Mr. Eks, who was frightened at the age of five by the roar of a locomotive, and in middle age developed a fear of distance which keeps him confined to a few square blocks near his apart-

ment. According to Lee's analysis—and he forgot to add that Mr. Eks is also a distinguished poet and a great scholar—this fear of distance is grounded on the patient's failure to realize that the roar of the train of 1880 is no longer here to enclose his 1942 movements. Lee gives two other instances of cases in which he was able, through the principles of his "science," to relieve patients who came to him with ungrounded fears (pp. 80-81 and 94-95). Obviously, then, of whatever semantics may really be a popularization, it is not one of the work of philosophers on meaning and verification.

I am afraid that I could not expect any editor to grant me the space required to analyze in detail all the errors, confusions, and half-truths which make up the bulk of these two books. I shall therefore only point out three or four of them, barely indicating, and unfortunately in an assertory not in an adequately argued manner, why I take them to be errors. They are culled from Hayakawa's book. But they are also to be found in Lee's. If they are taken exclusively from Hayakawa it is because *Language in Action* is, from the philosophic point of view, the less naive of the two books.

One of the naive assumptions on which semantics rests calls for a relationship of direct reference between language and actual things in gross experience. This "seeing is believing" attitude seems to be the semanticist's interpretation of recent empirical philosophy, and if he applied it himself as rigorously as he counsels others to apply it, it would soon transport him back to a world of grunts and gestures without time dimension and without depth. The assumption is expressed by the semanticist in the form of an analogy between language and facts on the one hand and maps and territories on the other. I notice that in his selected bibliography Hayakawa fails to mention the important work of Peirce and Morris on semiosis. Study of either of these two authors would have led him to perceive the inadequacy of his analogy. For semiosis insists on the syntactic dimension, without which meaning is utterly impossible, and which is nowhere given adequate consideration in *Language in Action*. In other words, the map analogy fails to reckon with the fact that the complex referential relation between language (and language is not merely a collection of isolated substantival signs) and things is impossible but for two factors: the first is the grasp by the human mind of all kinds of abstract relationships between concrete things; and the second is the relative autonomy of language, which arises from the development of relationships among the terms of the language. By means of the latter we are able to explore as yet non-existent possibilities. The pervasive animosity against abstractions which informs the writings of the semanticist has its source in his lack of appreciation of the syntactic dimension.

This over-simplification of the relationship of language to facts accounts for the assumption that the facts are "given," and therefore are independent of theory, of techniques of discovery, of interest, or of personal or cultural orientation. On the basis of the semanticist's naive realism, facts can be had independently of the language which expresses them, and statements can therefore be verified by simply comparing them with the facts which they express. According to this theory inferences mediating grossly experienced

events, or extrapolations from the directly observable, are nonsensical. A more careful reading of Carnap would have revealed the absurdity of this position. I do not hold, as sometimes logical positivists seem to intimate, that we live in a purely verbal universe, and verification is merely comparison of one statement with another. All I want to say is that a naively realistic conception of "facts," as simply given, and an equally naive notion of language, explains why the semanticist has nothing to say regarding the difficulties involved in the discovery of facts, or regarding the difficulties encountered in developing techniques required to certify them. "Verifiability" is disposed of in two pages, and "The Scientific Attitude" is allowed one and two-thirds pages in a 260-page book which is sold as *A Guide to Accurate Thinking*.

The semanticist's distrust of abstractions is also based on the belief that no word ever means the same thing twice, because the world is in constant flux. But Hayakawa goes Heraclitus one better, for he does not discover any constancy whatever in the onrush, while the Greek and the modern physicists, whom Hayakawa thinks he is following, do. Having reached the conclusion that everything is in absolute flux, one imagines the semanticist would keep silent, since with pure flux no science would be possible. But Hayakawa is no man to be stumped by the flux. Everything changes but the conclusions of the semanticist are somehow valid for the change, though by what dispensation one cannot discover in the text.

I have a hunch that the semanticist's radical distrust of abstractions is an expression of the weariness and deep frustration which visits men who have been the victims of a purely humanistic training, and are nevertheless forced, by the brutality of contemporary events, to face difficult technical problems. The frustration is often dealt with defensively as follows: difficult problems involving questions of fact—usually in the field of politics, economics, and ordinary human relations—are reduced to difficulties of language, to resolve which of course requires no arduous endeavor along specialized lines. But since the sustained intellectual effort which alone could resolve these problems has been merely side-stepped, the difficulties remain to challenge the verbalist. Let us then deny the need to face them by developing a pervasive hatred of all abstract thinking; that these conclusions are themselves abstract need not worry us.

But whether my hunch is correct or not, the distrust of abstractions is certainly buttressed by a misconception of the nature of knowledge. The semanticist, with many philosophers, misconceives knowledge as consisting of the grasp, in an almost literal sense, of the objects with which the inquiry starts, when, as a matter of fact, knowledge really consists of the grasp, in a purely metaphorical sense, of invariant or unchanging, and hence abstract, relations between phenomena or events. It is quite proper, in other words, that knowledge should wittingly seek to recede from the objects of gross experience in order to discover abstract invariant relations among them in order thus to be able to anticipate with some accuracy their recurrence. But the semanticist thinks of knowledge as if it consisted of getting one's face close to the hot breathing nostrils of Life itself, grasping Life tight with

one's bare hands. One gets the impression that the semanticist feels that even when most accurate and precise and most transparent, language must nevertheless always remain at the best a translucent obstacle between mind and facts.

Knowledge then is through and through abstractive. It is only poor or irrelevant abstractions that are the source of trouble. But pray note that if this is the case the statement remains at best an empty tautology free of any informative value whatever, unless the differences between one kind of abstraction and another are defined precisely and clearly. This in turn calls for a thorough description of those techniques and criteria by means of which the poor or irrelevant abstractions are distinguished from the valid ones. But this takes us immediately into actual scientific problems. And their solution cannot be attempted in terms of language, since the value of a given abstraction in any specific inquiry can only be determined by specific reference to concrete subject matter. But subject matter, as already pointed out, is not merely given. This in turn should reveal why neither confusion nor error can be avoided, nor truth arrived at, through the asepsis of language alone. To prevent confusion and to avoid error specialized techniques of inquiry appropriate to each subject-matter must be acquired, technological procedures and manipulations addressed to the certification of facts must be mastered, and wherever necessary, skills in the use of physical and mathematical as well as linguistic instruments must be developed.

The reason why this is not obvious is that much of our common-sense "verification" consists merely in checking up statements against facts already certified, through the consultation of almanacs and encyclopedias and experts. When facts are readily available, difficulties of communication about them may be difficulties which can be easily avoided through linguistic analysis, *where there is the will to avoid them*. The qualification is important, because the semanticist seems to take for granted as self-evident that cooperation is both desired and desirable, and neither of these two propositions seems to me to be self-evident. But the truly critical difficulties of our society are seldom of this sort. Roughly speaking they are of two sorts: They are sometimes conflicts arising from situations in which the facts are not available to anyone, and in such cases the discrimination between fact and fancy presupposes the back-breaking job of getting at the facts. Or they may be difficulties arising from ineradicable conflict of interests. In neither case can linguistic analysis be of much use. And the dissemination of the belief that it is, is a rather vicious and backward influence in our world.

There is another error to be found in Hayakawa's book which is rather pervasive in its multiple consequences for his science of semantics. According to this error, value statements are not truly judgments about things, but mere expressions of our feelings. Thus we are informed that the sentence, "She's the sweetest girl in the world," is not a statement about the girl but a revelation of the speaker's feelings. The error involved here has been adequately exploded by a number of writers on value from several mutually dissenting philosophic points of view, and it has been the subject

of rather full treatment by John Dewey in his recent *Theory of Valuation* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939). Therefore all I need to do here is to point out that unless the speaker is an extreme pathological case, suffering from a clearly recognizable delusion, his feelings, even though they are *his*, are, nevertheless, feelings aroused by an object in the environment, and refer, or pretend to refer, to characters of this object as much as they do to the attitudes of the speaker. That these characters are discernible only from a specific, and often times even only a purely idiosyncratic standpoint, constitutes no special difficulty, since this is as true of physical or primary characters as it is of tertiary or value-characters. The circularity of the well-known penny which has been the frequent object of philosophic discussion is not at all discernible from any old standpoint, but only from points along a line at right angles with the plane of its head or tail. From other points of view other shapes are discernible, and these are as truly characters of the penny as its circularity.

Going hand in hand with the subjectivistic theory of value is the acceptance of an interpretation of physics which Hayakawa takes as if it were an indisputable fact, and not what it truly is, an interpretation, and a highly debatable one, of the findings of the physicist. I refer to the belief that even secondary qualities of objects are subjective. Thus we are told that the yellow color of a pencil is not in the pencil but in our minds. The *real* pencil, according to this view, is a mass of flying electrons.

Sheer errors, dogmatic statements, and unwarranted generalizations of all sorts abound in this book. We are told, for instance, that "Definitions, contrary to popular opinion, tell us nothing about things. They only describe people's linguistic habits." Clearly, this alleged science, far from clarifying confusions and reducing conflicts, will merely make confusion worse confounded. Semantics pretends to be a warning against verbal magic and against the danger of what it calls a two-valued rather than a multi-valued orientation. But it is itself a most insidious form of verbal magic, since it directly and indirectly creates the impression that thought can be clarified without proper regard for subject-matter. And while arguing against simple disjunction it rests on several sets of naive disjunctions itself—fact and value, savage and civilized, concrete reality and abstract thought, superstition and knowledge, cooperation and conflict. From our friends may God deliver us. That this kind of thinking should pretend to be a remedy for the confusion and the intellectual bewilderment of which we pitiable men of the twentieth century are the victims merely shows the extent of our plight.

ELISEO VIVAS

*University of Wisconsin*

*Science and Sanity: An Introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics.* Second edition. By ALFRED KORZYBSKI. New York: The International Non-Aristotelian Library Publishing Co., 1941. Pp. lxxi+806.

This second edition of Korzybski's chief *opus* is unaltered except for a new introduction and additional bibliography. It is interesting to note that the advertising pamphlet included with the book carries approving com-

ment from a large number of educators, psychiatrists, physicians, teachers of English and of speech, publicists, physicists, and an occasional anthropologist (Hooton) or sociologist (Lundberg), but not one professional philosopher. Someone should undertake the task of compiling a collection of professional philosophical opinions. Would they *all* be as adverse to Korzybski as Vivas is to Korzybski's followers (see pp. 256-260, this issue)? I suspect not, but I am sure that a large number of the professionals would curse him roundly—all of which would be grist for the mill of the sociologist of knowledge. Is this simply an outsider-insider conflict, or is the outsider really a bull in a china shop? Or should he smash the china?

HOWARD BECKER

*University of Wisconsin*

*Deep South.* By ALLISON DAVIS, BURLEIGH B. GARDNER and MARY R. GARDNER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. Pp. xv+558.  
\$4.50.

The basic theme of *Deep South* is now familiar to social scientists; as early as 1938 Lloyd Warner published the caste-class theory, including the intriguing little chart with its diagonal caste line cutting across horizontal class barriers. Written under Warner's direction by a group of Negro and White researchers, *Deep South* is the product of several years of participant-observer experience in a Mississippi cotton town and its rural environs. According to Warner "their observations of group behavior were therefore made in the actual societal context in situations where they participated as members of the community, within the limits of their caste and class roles."

In his introduction Warner states the purpose of the study as that of describing the culture of a representative southern community in terms of the techniques and point of view of the social anthropologist. The entry of anthropology into the field of community analysis in our own culture is a relatively new movement and as such deserves the careful scrutiny of the sociologist, who will be eager to see what our sister discipline has to offer. In this regard one is forced to conclude that although technical anthropological language is liberally employed the procedures underlying this argot are reassuringly familiar. The collection of data by means of participant observers planted within a community has been used in many community studies; we are likewise habituated to the accumulation of material by means of well-informed local residents, although we have not always dignified them with the label "informant." *Deep South*, then, is a description of a community based on informal social contacts made during a period of several years, the whole procedure guided by a set of preconceived notions of relevance; namely, Warner's class-caste hypothesis.

It is significant, however, that the study is not designed as a *test* of this hypothesis, although at several points there are definite indications that the writers conceive the study as "verifying this theory." Thus, although an impressive amount of material is presented which does fit Warner's hypothesis of the shifting caste line, this question remains: Were these re-

lationships "discovered"? In other words, was the class hierarchy, as it developed from the Davis-Gardner interviews, an objective element in the culture, or did the questions asked so channel the replies that such a hierarchy necessarily emerged? The elaborate tables of class and clique relationships serve only to reinforce this suspicion. (It should be added that this difficulty is common to all descriptive studies which purport to depend upon no theory and pretend merely to record "the facts.")

One is struck constantly in reading the book by the authors' propensity for the use of comparative terms which are unnecessarily vague and impressionistic. The cumulative effect of the use of such words as "sometimes," "generally," "rarely," and "probably considerably less than half" is distinctly negative. One wonders if the writers are merely guessing or if they are embroidering their information with personal hunch. In general, it would seem that the authors have missed many opportunities for quantitative statement. This, in the opinion of the present writer, is a fundamental failing of the study. How many persons were interviewed, white and black? How many strata in the total population were ignored in the sampling? To what extent were the informal interviews and insights biased by other than chance prejudices? What were the "class roles" of the informants, and how did these roles limit the representativeness of the data? Can two married couples in a year-and-a-half accumulate enough information to permit them to generalize about the intimate details of upper-, middle- and lower-class marriage behavior? Can even the social anthropologist, with his supposed gift for "seeing things whole," ignore the problems of sampling and sampling errors?

One other serious theoretical cloud hovers over the entire study: the unnecessary and thoroughly confusing distinction between "overt" behavior and verbalization. For example, it leads the writers to aver that while the anthropologist's problem is "to discover those traits or groups of traits which are shared by most of the members [of a class]," the job of uncovering sentiments and attitudes belongs to the social psychologist. Such parcelling of tasks according to academic boundaries may be suited to classroom use, but in a research context it is not only useless but damaging.

On the positive side there are many things to be said. The book is brim-full of fascinating hypotheses. The discussions of clique behavior, particularly, deserve closer investigation; however, one wishes that instead of, or in addition to, the study of cliques through items in the society columns of newspapers the authors might have presented an intensive analysis of a single clique. Data more intimate than journalistic accounts are needed before we can accept the authors' statement that a man's clique mates are his "real friends" upon whom he depends for help in emergencies. In addition, some reference might have been made to the significance of the number of members upon the group relation, following Simmel's suggestions. To what extent, for example, are dyadic or triadic relations included in the clique concept?

The authors are at their best in describing the intimate details of social life in the deep South, and the book would have been improved if the gen-

eralized analysis of Southern economy had been either relegated to an appendix or dropped entirely. The "cotton South" has been more adequately treated in numerous research monographs.

To this reviewer it seems unquestionable that the project bit off more than it could chew. "Old City," Mississippi, is not just another collection of native huts on the banks of the river; it is a tremendously complex segment of a culture so vast that one wonders at the audacity of the four men and women who seek to comprehend it and indeed to generalize about it after mingling with the inhabitants and taking copious field notes for two years. There is a certain bravery in attempts like these, but in science as in war discretion is the better part of valor. In the long run social scientists will learn more from the modest pursuer of a single spoor, who sharpens his knives as he goes, than from the valorous fellow who hurries out with inadequate weapons to try to capture the whole wolf-pack.

ROBERT SCHMID

*Vanderbilt University*

*The Social Life of a Modern Community.* Volume I, Yankee City Series.  
By W. LLOYD WARNER and PAUL S. LUNT. New Haven: Yale University  
Press, 1941. Pp. xx+460. \$4.00.

This is a study of stratification. It is more painstaking than skillful; it displays more data than imagination of design; its value for social scientists resides more in its "wealth" of "data" than in any theoretical relevance or any "discoveries" made by its authors. No matter how many are on the staff (fifteen listed), you get out approximately what you put in.

Five other volumes are announced, which perhaps makes examination of this volume precarious. However, Volume One contains "the systematic analysis of the techniques . . . and conceptual framework used . . ." and emphasizes in particular the "class" structure. Therefore, I shall review it in terms of its method and as a study of stratification. Those data and interpretation which are in terms other than "class" are, in this volume, peripheral, and I shall not examine them publicly. Topics of which it is stated that more is to follow in later publications will also be avoided. Mr. Warner is the senior or the sole author of all the volumes, so I shall use his name in the following. The other volumes are to deal with the several "institutions," a "factory system," the "ethnic groups," and the symbol apparatus of the 17,000 people living in Newburyport, Massachusetts, in the first years of the 1930's.

## I

Science, to Warner, is observation, then classification, then generalization. The "general objective" of this study is "to determine the complete set of social relations" of Yankee City. Under these notions, "huge quantities of data" were "accumulated," and after this collection, Warner "proceeded to outline the possible ways in which the materials could be treated." It would be easy to become lost in research so conceived. In other contexts such a scheme is verbally belied: "presuppositions" are stated, and it is asserted

that an assumption was at first held to the effect that "the fundamental structure of our society, that which ultimately controls and dominates the thinking and actions of our people . . . is economic." P. W. Bridgman is fashionably patted on the back, although his technique is not <sup>in</sup> evidence when we come to the conceptions used.

"The Conceptual Framework" consists of elaborations (1) of quotations from Durkheim (on the basic sameness of natural and social) and from Simmel (his interactionist definition of society), (2) of the idea that all societies are oriented to some "fundamental or integrative structure," that "Yankee City" is a "working whole in which each part had definite functions . . .," (3) of the Parkian separation of individual and social person, and (4) of the conventional trichotomous view of society as embracing technology, social organization, and "symbolic" systems.

The field techniques used embrace most of the standard varieties which social scientists have been using and arguing over since the 'twenties—and before. The key concept of the study, "class," was not explicitly defined in the chapters on method and concepts.

## II

Why? Because "class," it is asserted, was "discovered." Around this "discovery" the remaining seventeen chapters are arranged. Since a presupposition of economic determinism was "held" from the beginning, one would think that in order to allow its precise statement and testing this notion would influence the definitions of concepts. But such a notion is not stated nor definitively tested in this book. It was "modified" because in various interviews people said that money isn't everything, referring to wealthy individuals "who didn't act right." In short, it was "found" that "wealth did not guarantee the highest social position" and *therefore* the notion of *economic* classes was abandoned. So: "a class hypothesis" was "developed." It is really a definition: "By class is meant two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions." There are several grave inadequacies and confusions displayed in this definition and in the manner in which it was allegedly attained:

"Class" as defined and as used throughout the book indiscriminately absorbs at least three items which, when considering "stratifications," it is very important to separate analytically. (1) The word swallows up the sheerly economic in all its gradations (amounts) and in all its sources (rentier, salaried, wage-earner, *et al.*). For convenience, this dimension will be referred to in this review as *class*. It includes the sheerly economic and nothing else. (2) Warner's "class" also points at the distribution of "prestige," "deference," "esteem," "honor": in general, *status*. This term will here be used to point at this prestige dimension, and only at it. On the whole Warner's "class" comes closest to *status*, thus defined. (3) Lastly, Warner's "class" may be taken to mean the distribution of *power*, i.e., who can be expected to obey whom in what situations.

From the insistence upon merely *one* vertical dimension and the conse-

quent absorbing of these three analytically separable dimensions into the one sponge word "class" flow the chief confusions of interpretation and the empirical inadequacies which characterize this study.

A further lack of distinction with direct consequences is the equating of "class" with "class-awareness." The gross facts of economic differences—in amount and in source, do not necessarily result in the awareness of these differences on the part of the participants. Yet Warner throws out *economic class* (by absorbing it indiscriminately with other dimensions) because of the fact of *status-awareness*. It is a double confusion: first, of class with status; and second, of class with status-awareness.

The first and direct result of such blurring is that the role of sheerly economic differences cannot be stated hypothetically, much less tested. This (original presupposition) is ruled out because of status-awareness on the part of some participants in the system. All that the "evidence" in terms of which the sheerly economic factor in stratification was miscellaneous absorbed indicates is that a number of persons did not pronounce *status* judgments on the basis of *mere wealth*. If the distinctions between class and status, between class and class-awareness, and between status and status-awareness had been known and used, the observations from interviews would have set interesting problems and hypotheses concerning their precise relations and might have enabled their precise answering by further observation.

These points of inadequacy and confusion, which are implicit in the definition used and which pervade the entire study, spring from an inadequate notion of the functional connections between theory, definition, and method; and more precisely, from a "theory" of stratification that is inadequate even to the data collected.

Little can here be said about methodology. It is simply the art of raising *questions* that are answerable by observation, and whose answers feed back into the theory with which they are logically related—indeed, from which they are in part derived. Operative theory consists in the design of studies which harbor distinctions and concepts enabling such questions. So far as I can see, there is little difference between such questions and what are called *hypotheses*. This study is barren of theoretical designs from which flow well-articulated questions and plans for their precise and observational answers.

Definitions are important elements in such questions and plans. In this volume there is no set of questions in terms of which the definitions used are framed and which in turn frame the questions. Definitions must be more than logically tight (i.e., defensible in argument) and operationally set (i.e., public and precise in their indexical function); they must also be logically significant to a table of questions which are to be answered. This study falls short on all three criteria. I am concerned now with the second: a feature of a good definition is its one-dimensionality. If you define a concept along one line, then you can study other items that vary with it. But if you define it so as to make it a sponge word, letting it absorb a number of variables, then you cannot ask questions with it concerning the relations of the analytically isolable items which it miscellaneous harbors. The central term of this

study, "class," falls clearly into this case. And this is the key methodological reason for Warner's theoretical and conceptual inadequacies: *all* the many-colored beads are strung on *one* vertical string; whereas the data and relevant questions indicate the need for several strings, each for one color of bead.

The lack of a theory harboring crucial distinctions is sadder than it would perhaps otherwise be in view of the fact that it was not now necessary to *work out* such a theory. If Warner had availed himself of post-Marxian discussions in European sociological literature, and I refer especially to Max Weber's, he would have "discovered" in a more exact form such things as he did "discover," as well as several more which would have enlarged his observational sensitivities, enabled him to observe what he did observe more precisely, and which would have helped him to ask and perhaps to answer questions which he was not even able to raise within his own conceptual circle. If he had used an adequate conceptual apparatus, it would have insured non-equivocation as to what he was talking about, and it would have made really valuable and usable the materials gathered. That the literature of stratification was probably not consulted is indicated not only in the index of names but by the concepts that are presented and used. In view of this, it is slightly enervating to read the long list of pompous assertions that the study "discovered" that status is ecologically distributed, of the "discovery" of "class" itself, and of the "clique." But, for all I know the term "discovery" may still be well used, for it is possible to "discover" only that which one has not known.

There is another unfortunate aspect of Warner's failure to take account of previous literature: the problems which this literature contains and the assertions which it advances (that is, our "knowledge" to date) are not pointed up to be answered and verified by this clump of fact. Facts are expensive, in many ways, and, in so far as is possible, they should be *used* as widely and as crucially as possible. "Many . . . researches," writes Warner on page six, "are notoriously guilty of beginning as if no other work had been done. . . ."

The few distinctions indicated above are *not* set forth as *alternatives* to anything contained in the study under review. In any operative sense, Warner has no theory and gives no crucial distinctions. I will now examine some empirical and interpretative defaults of these conceptual inadequacies.

### III

In the "most important . . . aspect of the entire research, we worked out empirically, by direct observation of a . . . large sample . . . the existence of six stratified social classes." What were the criteria used to distinguish one "class" from another and to locate given individuals in them? The meaning and the clarity of the entire study hinges on the answers to this question. Its answer, for a sample, was first determined by interviews: an individual belonged where someone in the community placed him. I take this to be the meaning of "direct observation." Yet how *direct* is this? We are not uniformly told the "class" of those who did the ranking. The in-

formants used "economic terms" as designating "superior and inferior positions" (power?) they used "acting right" (style of living), they referred to membership in "the right families" (descent), going around with "the right kind of people" (status circles), and ecological terms. A further criterion used by Warner was membership in "certain associations with a well-defined class range." It was noted, although I do not know whether it was used as a *criterion*, that "members of a class tend to marry within their own order." The ecological areas were apparently used quite extensively in the placing of individuals in a rank order. Brief reference in the grand manner is also made to "type of house, kind of education, manners, and other symbols of class." "In the final analysis, however, individuals were placed by the evaluations of the members of Yankee City itself. . . ." That is, the ranking is in terms of status-verbilization. Most, although unfortunately by no means all, of the criteria used are elements in status position, as above defined. But later it is stated: "It must not be thought that all the people in Yankee City are aware of all the minute distinctions made in this book." Such status-awareness as existed tended to be ecologically verbalized by informants.

When we seek to distinguish the six classes, we immediately run into the fact that different criteria were used at the several levels. Had Warner clearly distinguished class from status, he would have been able to state more directly the differences between the "upper-upper" and the "lower-upper." It seems clear, especially from the "stories" related, that in general the "upper-upper" have status *and* class, that the "lower-upper" have class without full status by descent, i.e., the "lower-upper" are *nouveaux riches*. The status mark of the "upper-upper" is descent, and secondarily, style of life in conjunction with certain status circles. But since Warner tries to work with *one* dimension, he cannot raise many pertinent questions about these two upper classes: e.g., is it just "the length of time" that the family has participated in status groups that mark off the "upper-upper"? or is it that, plus *some* class at some time, etc.? Some of the lower "classes" have family lines in Yankee City as *long* as the "uppers." About how long does it take to move from high class into high status? If there is nothing other than present status itself between the "upper-upper" and "lower-upper," then there is no explanatory basis for the differences between them. Every time we get a close view of the "upper-uppers" and "lower-uppers" wealth comes in, yet by treating it as one "factor" blurred with other "factors" into the one-dimensional scale, the raising of questions about its precise weight and function in the conferring of status is made impossible.

The criteria for distinguishing the "upper-middle," the "lower-middle," the "upper-lower," and the "lower-lower," are not at all clear. One short paragraph deals explicitly with these matters. In the main, the distinctions seem to have run in ecological terms. It should be remarked that no measure of "class" mobility is attempted, words like "many" being used in this connection. Perhaps, in part, this is due to fact that the study is a-historical. This means, first, that in this study of status, with status-by-descent plainly a very important qualification, there is no *systematic* account of

what happens in the succession of generations. Genealogies were apparently taken, but we are not given any systematic results of this. Warner seems to have been more interested in the present "kinship chart." The a-historicity means, secondly, that the study is trendless. It would not have been necessary to follow events chronologically; two base lines could have been set, "then" and "now," and thus at least a rough orientation to changes in time could have been glimpsed. Because it is difficult to obtain "historical" material on the Murngin of Australia is not a valid reason why we should not have the obvious advantages of the easily procurable time-oriented data of Newburyport, Massachusetts.

#### IV

One of the most interesting sets of questions which is lost between the confusions of status with class concerns the extent and the precise character of wealth in stratification. There are several types of gross information about "wealth" given: there is an income distribution, and a chapter on "property." Both of these displays, however, are rather isolated from other topics; they are not linked to status, e.g., with the subtlety which such an attempt would entail.

In the income distribution we are given the yearly "income" per family by "class," and the extremes in the range of income for each class. The yearly income correlates positively with "class" (status); but the range of income for each class is wide. At least one family of the "upper-upper" got only \$1,105 (with an average for the "class" of \$6,401), whereas at least one "lower-lower" got \$2,800 (with an average for the "class" of \$883). Without the inclusion of some measure of dispersion these figures of averages and ranges are simply not adequate and may well be misleading.

Furthermore, it seems that at least one family in each class may have spent more than was earned, (at least one "lower-lower" spent \$2,725). But again, without a *sigma*, or a more detailed display of the distribution, one cannot know anything whatever about the negatively privileged income classes. Given the credit system (about which nothing is said) as a sanction of social controls, this is all the more regrettable. Not violence but credit may be a rather ultimate seat of control within modern societies. There is no systematic indication of the sources of income by "class." Were there banks in Yankee City? Who controls them, and whom and what do they control? In the "budgets" presented there is no category for "investment" or "savings."

The chapter on "property" is  $5\frac{1}{4}$  pages long. First, "property" is without any explicit explanation equated with "real estate," and apparently only domestic real estate at that! Second, there is given the median "ownership" distribution (of real estate) by age, sex, and ethnic group. There is then presented a table on "Real Estate and Class" in which there is no category for "none," the lowest being "Below \$3,000;" yet only 2,911 of the 17,000 citizens own *any* real estate! There is no display of property distribution by "class," of which, in the higher brackets especially, "real estate" is probably a minor factor. Among items of property, real estate is perhaps among

the least likely to be an accurate indicator of class differentials, if such exist. Not only do we get nothing on property, but in the table on "real estate" there is again no display of the negatively privileged. Despite the set-up of the tallies which these omissions produce, there is, of course, a positive correlation of the "class" (of those who do own any) and the value of real estate owned. It should be noticed that the tallies on real estate are not by families, but by "persons." Statistically and sociologically, the relations of wealth and "class" (status) that are imputed in this study are inadequate and unclear.

And again, due to the lack of a conceptual separatives of status and class, many pertinent questions were not even asked. For example: Is it true that in the succession of generations status flows toward the positively privileged propertied classes? How has status sheerly by descent (if any) conditioned class situations? Have economic chances been hereditarily appropriated? Generically: Precisely what are the relations and the mechanisms linking class and status?

## V

For work of the attempted fineness of this study it is questionable if the six-fold occupational classification used is adequate. Given its resources and assuming a set of precise problems, this study would have seemed an opportunity to construct a better set of occupational categories—for example, a set that would have particular relevance to status phenomena, since this is primarily what the study attempts to be about. Alba Edwards' census classification had of necessity to satisfy a very wide set of practical purposes, which are often irrelevant to research plans and questions. Three items should illustrate this point and document its pertinence to the books in hand:

(1) It might be supposed that different styles of living, characterizing different status levels, might embrace "leisure," or no "occupation." If such had been provided for in this study, the possibility of displaying the disqualification value of any "productive work," as Veblen would have it, would have been opened. There is nothing decisive on such questions in this book. Veblen's remarks on this head may not hold of Yankee City, but one cannot tell in terms of the gross "occupational classification" used (nor in any other terms here given). We are not told if "unemployment" includes, say, a rentier, or not. The meaning of "unemployed" as applied to the "UU" is not distinguished from the term as applied to the "LL."

(2) There is one occupational category used, "Professional and Proprietary," into which the "upper-upper" (UU) and "lower-upper" (LU) fall in about equal percentages. Surely these terms should have been broken down or at least their range of content detailed. Since they are not, we are unable to distinguish such differing occupational compositions as may exist between UU and LU. Again, 17 percent of the UU are tallied (along with only 7 percent of the LU and 29 percent of the LM) into "Clerks and Kindred Workers." Have the descendants of the Yankee sea captains descended to shoe and grocery clerking? Surely this is interesting enough to warrant

a detailing of what the category "clerk" embraces; certainly we should be told of the explicit criteria for an individual's admission into the category. Otherwise we have no control over or leads to interpretations, and the possibility of a comparative use of the materials is zero.

(3) The undefined term "worker" is used in the discussion of the distribution of "class" members by "industries." In this distribution the UU class" is low in contribution of "workers" to the shoe industry, which perhaps overlooks the number one "worker" of the shoe "workers": the owner of the plant. Again, sponge words.

## VI

I do not suppose any sociologist has a serious argument with the general "functionalist" assertion that "the parts" of a society are "inter-related," etc. Either the statement is a tautology derived from notions with which we begin, or it is a methodological guide. What it should guide us to is a quest for specific mechanisms linking one sector of a given society with another. It is the extent and the character of the relationships that should be precisely determined. Warner does not manage to convey "functionalism" in this sense. It remains a statement, in an early chapter, of a fashionable "part-whole," "configurational," or *gestalt* assumption. Nor is the conventional trichotomy of technology, social organization, and ideology manifestly at *work* within the observation and interpretation of materials. It, too, stands in a prefacing chapter as a leisured item. In particular, the linkages of the social, economic, and political orders are never articulated.

These criticisms are by no means mere theoretical cavil, and they cannot be dodged on the basis of "One can't do everything." Operating with a far less elaborate theory and set of distinctions (and no doubt without the 17,000 cards, the dictaphones, and the airplane used by Warner) the Lynds succeeded in presenting a far superior picture of the composition and mechanics of a modern community. The *Middletown* books can't be dodged. They show that the broad-focused and imaginative eye is the genuine meaning of "functionalism." Are intermarriage chances, the flow of prestige, influenced by what happens in banks? What is the distribution of legal skill, by family, by firm? Are there overlaps between the boards of banks, the elders of churches, and the prestige of ministers? Are "social circles" and religious affiliations subtly interwoven with financial interests? How do "clubs" mark one's financial arrival? Are the chances to arrive financially enhanced by affiliation with clubs? It is to be regretted that such mechanics of interaction between the economic, the social, and religious affiliations (not to mention "political" spheres) as may exist were not systematically examined in the case of Yankee City.

Nor is the lack of an eye for interrelations confined in its effects to the lack of discernment of possibly far-flung linkages. Its absence makes uncontrolled many relations that are alleged. Note the fact that in "type of house lived in" no economic distribution operates in the discussion! Again, in presenting a table of the number of associations to which members of

various denominations belong, we are not given alongside the numbers of the population in the different denominations. Book and magazine "preference" tallied by "class" is not controlled nor interpreted in terms of educational level, income, price of publication, number and ages of children in family, readiness of access to the sources of different grades of publications. In the absence of such items, nothing is really known of the distribution of reading by "class."

Several lengthy chapters concerned with fascinating topics consist almost entirely of tallies into various categories such as age and sex, ethnic, and "class." These contain a maximum of flat, tallying busy-work with a minimum of sociological imagination. These tallies are embarrassingly naked as far as theoretical understanding and explanation are concerned. This is unfortunately the case in connection with "associations," "houses," and with others. It is very conspicuously the case with "real estate owned" and with "magazines read."

Nor is such explanatory nudity clothed in the summing-up chapters, which merely repeat in a different arrangement what was previously presented. These summaries offer little view of the total community or of each stratum, or of how they mesh. For example: "About 50 per cent of its [LM] members are below 40 years of age." Confronted with such factual assertions, end on end, which are doubtlessly true, one is continually asking, "So what?" To answer this, one must read the reported conversations and brief career lines which are presented with a minimal attempt to interpret or to tally into sponge categories raw materials that *are* very significant.

I am genuinely sorry that the tenor of my review of this volume has had to be negative in standpoint. For in terms of what American social scientists have done with stratification, the book is a big frog in a very small pond—in size, if in nothing else. But this is not the ground on which to judge it as social science. The recent and current interest of American social scientists in phenomena of stratification is too significant to become afflicted with strabismus now. Stated as precisely and in as balanced a manner as I can, the "pluses" and "minuses" of this study are as follows: Plus in general focus (topic) and in accumulated "data." Minus: in theory and in conceptual distinctions. They sum up like this: Because the accumulation of "data" is intrinsically related to conceptual distinctions, the "data" accumulated are "plus" only to the extent that they are presented "in the raw." Therefore, the chapters of the volume can be ranked in terms of how much reporting there is and how little conceptualizing is attempted. On such a scale Chapter VII, almost straight reporting, is the best in the book. One is inclined to be critical of results roughly to the degree of the fascination of the topic and the size of the practical opportunity of the researchers.

On the whole, you get out about what you put in, and I don't mean money.

C. WRIGHT MILLS

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*Wolf Child and Human Child: Being a Narrative Interpretation of the Life History of Kamala, The Wolf Girl.* By ARNOLD GESELL. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941. Pp. 107. \$2.00.

The basic data of this narrative comes from two sources, the extensive records collected by Arnold Gesell and his able assistants of the Yale Clinic of Child Development, and a diary originally prepared by J. A. L. Singh, Rector of the Orphanage of Midnapore, India, and now in the possession of an anthropologist, Robert M. Zingg of the University of Denver. Gesell reconstructs the life-history story of Kamala from the diary sketch as an anthropologist would reconstruct the skull of an ancient man from a few bone fragments. He then projects this reconstruction upon a background of knowledge of the human child as known through the work of the Yale clinic. Frequently the reconstructed life-history and the background are blended imperceptibly, so that the reader cannot be sure whether Gesell is writing of Kamala or the "normal child."

Gesell gives his opinion of the diary, the most authentic information about this extraordinary coincidence of infants' relation to wolves, as follows: "The diary strikes me as being a notable human document. It is intimate and graphic; it bears evidence of sincerity and veracity" (p. xi). Very brief and few are the important quotations from the diary, apparently in deference to Zingg, who proposes a future publication of it. The scientifically-trained individual, in consequence, wishes almost continually as he reads the book for more complete documentation. The person who reads the book as a story, however, may well be satisfied with the narrative's factual grounding.

The story of Kamala's life-history is as follows: Speculation places her birth in the year 1912. Following an unknown period, estimated to be eight years, she was taken from the den of wolves on October 17, 1920. What happened during these years cannot be other than speculation. Nevertheless, as a story-teller and not as a scientist, Gesell projects data from his clinic into the primitive Indian environment and writes a chapter on "Kamala is Born" and another entitled "With the Wolves." It is true, however, that Gesell had Kamala's wolfish behavior as reported facts, which give rise to the question of how it got that way, and he reasoned backward from this in writing these chapters. The rest of the story deals with Kamala's adoption by the Singhs and her retraining from the ways of wolves to the ways of a human child with an achievement level of better than 30 months. During early training she avoided light, preferred nocturnal activity, ran on all fours and crept on hands and knees, gave wolf cries, refused clothing, lapped food, ate intestines of chickens (which she seemed to locate at some distance by smell) and showed more preference for the associations with puppies, kids, and cats than with children. In the final stage of training, before her death, Kamala could speak almost fifty words, helped care for babies, ran errands, accepted clothing, expressed bashfulness, responded to praise and blame, and became strongly attached to Mrs. Singh. She was a "sweet and obedient child" (p. 80).

Gesell names the species of wolf which adopted and cared for Kamala and

her short-lived sister; it is designated as *Canis pallipes*. The habits of these animals are sketched briefly—mainly, it seems from the wolf-like behavior which was described for Kamala and from rather old natural histories. The reader is left to speculate about the behavior of wolves and the probability of a child surviving in a wolf society. For example, does the Indian wolf stay in one den throughout the year or does it, like its American cousin, have a wide territorial range up to 30 or 40 miles? What unusual motivation and coincident relations with native Indians caused this wolf mother to adopt not one, but two, human infants?

Gesell's chapter on nature and nurture represents his own conclusions as arrived at in his prolonged observations of infants. His conclusions are given literary framework within the life-history sketch of Kamala. His conclusions are not supported by the story of this extraordinary case. The reviewer cannot agree with Gesell when he says, "We may almost regard her life history as a crucial experiment which puts to test the age-old issue of nature versus nurture." The story is not at all crucial on the problem of nature versus nurture. If the basis data are valid, it does once again emphasize the large capacity of the human organism for adjustments. Note also these statements: "The reciprocal relationship between heredity and environment should not, however, blind us to the priority of hereditary factors in the patterning of human behavior" (p. 84). He points out that Kamala, though she spent the most important formative years with wolves, did not entirely lose the capacity for acquiring human ways. "The psychological differences among men trace finally to organic and chemical differences in the nervous system. These differences are so deep-seated that no given culture has yet succeeded in making its carriers precisely alike. The historic spirit of liberty is a kind of biological protest which tends to keep a wholesome margin of disparity between 'culture' and 'heredity'" (p. 85).

Gesell's long-standing interest in children is sufficient reason for his writing this unusual human-interest story. The reviewer is convinced that he has not written this story for his cold-blooded and critical scientific colleagues; he has rather attempted to write a literary book for those who would enjoy reading something a little less than pure scientific writing but more than pure fiction. Indeed, time only will tell whether or not he has written in a beautiful and pleasing manner one of the classical stories which will live with the mythology of Romulus and Remus and with the reports of Pinel and Itard on the Wild Boy of Aveyron.

C. R. CARPENTER

*Pennsylvania State College*

*Heredity and Environment. A Critical Survey of Recently Published Material on Twins and Foster Children.* By R. S. WOODWORTH. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1941. Pp. x+95. 90 cents.

This is a report prepared for the Committee on Social Adjustment of the Council, E. W. Burgess, chairman. Its purpose is to disclose the results of research in the fields indicated, the roles of heredity and environment in

producing individual differences, the merits of the methods used, and promising lines for further study. Needless to say, the job has been remarkably well done. It will not please the extremists, especially those of the environmentalist camp, but it will abundantly repay repeated scrutiny by everyone interested in this fascinating and profoundly important field of research.

The study is divided into 30 pages on twins, 38 pages on foster children, 17 pages on institutional homes for children, 5 pages of "Conclusions and Suggestions," and 4 pages of bibliography. The whole is marked by an economy and precision in the use of words, fertility of ideas, and keenness of analysis. Twin studies are not only the most important but the most reliable; they alone have thus far yielded results that are generally acceptable. Foster children studies confront a dilemma at the start: if they test the children at very early ages, the tests are unreliable; but if the tests are postponed, there is no way to measure the full effects of the changed environment. Since children must be placed at very early ages in order to secure a suitable research group, this dilemma proves formidable. There are other difficulties: it is difficult to measure the extent of selective placement; measures of environment are inadequate; the range of foster home environments is greatly curtailed at the lower end; not all the children of the sibling group to which the foster child belongs are included in the study; and these researches are limited to a study of the effects of inter-family variations, which in Burk's study accounted for only 37 per cent of the variance among the children (and only 28 per cent in the Leahy study). Burk's method of estimating how the remaining 63 percent should be divided between heredity and environment is approved, though not unreservedly.

It is quite impossible to give more than a hint of the tenor of the reasoning and conclusions in a short review. Children living in the same home may have different effective environments, "for the reason, at bottom, that they differ genetically" and hence react selectively to the various elements of the environment. Fairly large differences in education seem necessary in order to produce reliable differences in mental test ability. Since the majority of identical twins reared apart showed no greater IQ differences than identicals reared together, "the differences found among children of an ordinary community are not accounted for, except in small measure, by differences in homes and schooling" (p. 30). Since not over a fifth of the variance of intelligence in the general population can be accounted for by differences in homes and neighborhoods, the intra-family factors in such variance loom much larger (pp. 84-85).

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*Man Stands Alone.* By JULIAN S. HUXLEY. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941. Pp. 297. \$2.75.

The author needs no introduction to American readers, nor for that matter does the book, which is a collection of occasional essays written at

various intervals during the last decade. But publishers take no chances nowadays, and Mr. Huxley's have taken the sensible London title, *The Uniqueness of Man*, which is the name of the leading essay, and translated it into what looks like Basic English for the American market. This process has always a touch of condescension about it, and in this case it is highly inappropriate, and also rather amusing when we remember that the essay was first published in an American review.

Several of the essays in this collection are pleasant and rather slight bits of scientific popularization. Such, for example, are the sketches entitled *The Size of Living Things*, *The Courtship of Animals*, and *The Intelligence of Birds*. In two longer and more serious essays, the brilliant *Uniqueness of Man* and *The Origins of Species*, Huxley is also the popularizer of science, but with a definite purpose. Here he describes how recent advances in genetics and evolutionary biology have raised man to a unique position in the animal world, a distinction that was not accorded him by the immediate followers of Darwin. In other essays Huxley draws upon this new human biology, as he has done elsewhere, to attack Nazi racial doctrines and to discuss the possibility of a eugenically planned economy.

In *Eugenics and Society* and in *Science, Natural and Social*, Huxley wonders whether the social sciences may not some day attain the dignity of the natural sciences, and then suggests how his latter-day Darwinism can be brought to bear upon the social sciences and the development and progress of society.

Huxley's discussion of method in the social sciences can only be appreciated in the light of his convictions as to the meaning and spirit of science as a whole. In this connection the reader must remember that Huxley is one of that cénacle of left-wing British scientists (among whom are Joseph Needham, Bernal, and Hogben) who are busily urging their fellow scientists to shoulder their social, as well as their scientific, responsibilities. On the surface the professional sociologist or historian would be justified in scoffing at Huxley's pleasant platitudes about the danger of bias and the difficulties springing, especially in the social sciences, from the problem of value and the problem of "multiple causation." Huxley does, however, make one basic criticism which, if it should be accepted as valid, would alter the whole meaning of the social sciences. Huxley denies that there can exist an academic sociology, denies that any social science can exist apart from a program of social reform and social experimentation. He asserts this with the same fervor, and from the same convictions, as when he urges the social responsibility of every scientist. It is all too easy to dismiss this attitude with a smile, to take it out of context, and fail to see that it is a logical consequence of a view we applaud when it is leveled at those ignorant fellows, the natural scientists. We might restate Huxley's view in this wise: just as the natural scientist is culpable for having drifted into a kind of neoscholasticism based on a worship of knowledge for its own sake; just as he is culpable for letting the aspect of control slip from his grasp, and into the maw of the promoter, the nationalist politician, and the selfish capitalist entrepreneur; so the social scientist, a child of the nineteenth century, has

erred by aping the conspicuous detachment, if we may coin a Veblenism, that the natural scientists were affecting and cherishing in that century.

The history of science can put Huxley's view in an interesting light. It is true that the dichotomy of pure from applied science was a phenomenon of the nineteenth century, and that the scientists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries recognized no such distinction. These early modern scientists were, in the most important sense, true Baconians: believers that scientific knowledge and control were two inseparable aspects of the New Learning whose final purpose was the "relief of man's estate." Down at least to the time of Condorcet men of science agreed in urging with Bacon "a more intimate & strict conjunction of contemplation and action." And in this sense Condorcet, the prophet of the social sciences as well as pontiff for the natural sciences, was the last true Baconian: a fervent believer in the unity of science and in the direct social responsibility of the man of science. After him, in the nineteenth century, scientists, natural and social alike, assumed the habit of the clerk, in the manner applauded by Benda. The consequences of their sanctimonious detachment are only too evident today, and only now is the little band of men of whom Huxley is one of the foremost representatives pushing the pendulum back once more. Viewed in this perspective the present collection of essays is an interesting tract for our times, the result of a movement that may prove to be one of the most significant and fundamental in contemporary thought.

HENRY GUERLAC

*University of Wisconsin*

*Foundations for a Science of Personality.* By ANDRAS ANGYAL. New York: The Commonwealth Fund. 1941. Pp. xii+398. \$2.25.

An author who announces "an entirely new theory" with a new set of concepts will encounter a certain resistance, since advance in science is expected from continuity of effort and the bringer of new things is well advised to add his little to the common store. Still, there was Newton and there is Einstein, and a reviewer must read carefully lest a new and revolutionary genius go unrecognized.

The author of this book hardly develops "an entirely new set of concepts," for the index lists more than two hundred that are old and familiar. The few new coinages which are offered appear to be little more than the changing of labels with no addition to the content. "Biognativity" is substituted for abnormality, "biosphere" for total situation, "homonomy" replaces socialization, and "holism" (adopted from Smuts) does duty for totality, configuration, or gestalt. Some common words such as set, setting, shift, tension, and a few others are assigned limited and special meanings. The new terms seem of doubtful value. Such efforts usually create an illusion of novelty and always waste valuable time. Should there be a scientific licensing bureau?

The holistic theory sets out to treat the organism and the environment as one and indivisible: "the clothing of man is as much a part of the organism as the fur and feathers of the animal." But readers of Dewey who recall his

statement that breathing is as much a function of the air as of the lungs, or the same author's discussion of habits as social functions, will probably conclude that the present book has been anticipated for a generation. Mead's discussion of the way in which the subjects incorporate the environment for the very formation of personality is a far more adequate statement. There is no reference to Dewey and, if one may judge by internal evidence, the author has no acquaintance with Mead, Cooley, Thomas or any of a number of our men who have spoken authoritatively on the subjects treated in the book. An adequate knowledge of the literature would probably have led to the modification of many statements and, doubtless, to the abandonment of not a few.

The part of most interest to social psychologists is entitled "The Psychological Functions," and can hardly be called a strong section of a not-too-strong discussion. It assumes a naive "copy theory" of perception, a view discredited long ago. The assertion that all consciousness is symbolic leads, of course, to the neglect of the distinction between experience as simply had or enjoyed, and that which is known and interpreted. This cardinal error of identifying immediate experience and reflective experience vitiates the whole argument.

A consistent holism would have related emotion to action, for emotion is neither a thing nor a force. Emotions are called "symbols of value-laden ego-relevant facts." But we know, do we not, that "emotion" is a noun only by a semantic convention? The experience is consistently adverbial; we act angrily, etc.

Perception is presented as the result of the power of certain organisms to construct mental pictures. Holism would seem to have been better served by describing perception as inextricably connected with action instead of the old and inadequate separation. It is actually asserted in the book that certain organisms may even produce movement "in response to volition." Volition, incidentally, suffers a serious loss of prestige in a passage wherein the will is called a "discrepancy" in the organization of the "biosphere." Owing to the "will," the self becomes a "state within a state" (which any political scientist would deprecate), and trouble is caused because the "conscious self" tries to acquire a hegemony although it is not really competent to govern the whole. Moreover, the information which we obtain of ourselves is "not an entirely true picture of reality." This inaccuracy is not asserted of abnormal subjects but of all of us, including this reviewer—including even the author of the book under review.

The student who is familiar with the literature will note a number of serious omissions. The concept of role is missing, as also is any recognition of the multiplicity of selves or of the conflicts between them. Nor is there any notion of the genetic aspect of the self or of the dependence on the social environment for its very beginning. A holistic theory could have made good use of this knowledge.

The chapter on integration is presented as the peak of the argument. The new logic is to be a logic of systems, and systems depend on arrangement in space. The "biosphere" does not seem significantly spatial, and so

the "personality" is said to have three dimensions: depth; progression, which is perpendicular to the vertical; and the transverse direction, which is perpendicular to both the others, illustrated by the use of several muscles when we write a letter. There is little that comes of this *tour de force*.

There is abundant need for an adequate and systematic theory of personality and any one who tries to formulate it should be praised for the effort. But it would be a disservice to such an author if inadequacies were accepted as sound. It would also be a disservice to science.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

*Lake Forest, Ill.*

*Basic Problems of Behavior.* By MANDEL SHERMAN. New York: Longmans, Green, 1941. Pp. viii+440.

The publication of Mandel Sherman's *Basic Problems of Behavior* gives added evidence that the trend in psychology toward considering its basic problems to be social rather than exclusively physiological is continuing. Of course Sherman is not listed as a professional psychologist. Yet this text, which was elaborated from his earlier *Mental Hygiene and Education*, is essentially a psychological treatise. In writing this later book one of Sherman's aims has been to show that behavior problems must be attacked both through experimental and through clinical, i.e., social, procedures.

The first two chapters treat in a modern manner the topics of emotion, motivation, and frustration. These chapters are followed by one on the theories of personality. The treatment here, while not exhaustive in scope, gives a fair view of the conflicting theories. Personality is defined "as a concept of the integration of traits and their use in adjustment in social situations" (p. 108). The subsection on typology is unfortunately incomplete, as the accounts of the new Sheldon theories were published after the Sherman book went to press.

Next in order comes a chapter on common mechanisms of adjustment and an exceptionally well-written discussion on the measurement of personality. A noteworthy omission in the latter chapter is any mention of Moreno's sociometric methods, which are now receiving much attention both in sociology and in psychology.

Perhaps the most disappointing portion of the book is that which deals with the topic of the attitudes and the opinions. The meager treatment is surprising, for certainly the problems which arise from a consideration of these phases of symbolic behavior are both basic and, to a great degree, unsettled.

The last four chapters deal with conflicts, delinquent behavior, the neuroses, and mental abnormalities (the psychoses). Throughout these chapters the author is careful to give each theoretical position a fair treatment—so careful, in fact, that the reader is likely to be forced into the conviction that little that is definite is known about these topics. These chapters are well documented, and give one of the most complete surveys the reviewer has seen of the alleged causes of the several abnormalities. Sherman concludes

that "psychogenic influences of various types—training problems, frustrations, traumas, failures, and so on—are important etiologically in the development of a neurosis. No one has shown, however, that these factors are causally related to the psychoses although . . . the symptoms may be determined in part by the individual's backgrounds and experiences" (p. 411).

*Basic Problems of Behavior* deserves to be on the reserve book list of many courses in the social sciences. It might well serve as a text for advanced courses in mental hygiene. What it lacks in plot, it makes up in content. It unquestionably satisfies its avowed purpose: "to present the clinical, experimental, psychological, and psychiatric data of a number of basic problems of behavior" (p. v).

PAUL R. FARNSWORTH

Stanford University

*Gesture and Environment. A Tentative Study of Some of the Spatio-Temporal and "Linguistic" Aspects of the Gestural Behavior of Eastern Jews and Southern Italians in New York City, Living Under Similar as well as Different Environmental Conditions.* By DAVID EFRON. Sketches by Stuyvesant Van Veen. Preface by Franz Boas New York: King's Crown Press, 1941. Pp. x+184. \$2.25.

This study is significant in its ingenuity of method even if it is not entirely surprising (to the sociologist) in its conclusions. It begins with a review of theories concerning gesture-theories which generally follow the hypothesis of racial determinism, and which are almost entirely speculative in character. In this connection the author presents historical evidence to show that such peoples as the English and French have varied considerably in their use and evaluation of gestures. Thus Frenchmen of the 16th century and later prided themselves on their rational austerity and believed that only vulgar foreigners talked with their hands. With the French Revolution and the shift in ideals from the *honnête homme* to the *âme sensible*, however, the basis was laid for the modern "emotional Frenchman."

In the "experimental" and major part of this study, the author makes a detailed, comparative study of the gestural behavior of some Eastern Jews and Southern Italians residing in the United States, together with their Americanized descendants. By meticulous use of a four-fold method consisting of (1) direct observation in natural situations, (2) sketches from life in similar situations, (3) rough counting, (4) "motion pictures studied by (a) observations and judgments of naive observers, and (b) graphs and charts, together with measurements and tabulations of the same," the author defines the typical gestural forms of traditional Eastern Jews and Southern Italians. These two peoples are almost opposites in their gestural behavior, and each exhibits a well-defined character. Among the Jews, especially of Lithuanian and Polish origin, for instance, the axis of arm motion centers at the elbow and / or the wrist, while the Southern Italians gesture with the whole arm. The former use one arm at a time, the latter often employ both arms simultaneously. The Jew gestures with his head in

a lively "turtle-like" fashion, he maintains close physical contact with his listener, frequently touching, grasping, or poking at him, and there is much group gesturing, even a "chorus of divergent monologues," as the author aptly phrases it. The gestures of these Jews, in contrast to the Italians, are ideographic rather than pictorial or symbolic—related to the "how" rather than to the "what" of the re-enacted ideas.

The Americanized descendants of these Jews and Italians deviate sharply from the ancestral gestural patterns, and this in proportion to their cultural assimilation. It is this evidence which effectively refutes the hypotheses of the racial determinists. It includes the partially-assimilated descendant who has a mixed or hybrid gesture, complicated at times by more than two cultural traditions. The gestural behavior expressed at any given moment seems to be an integral part of the role assumed by the individual, particularly the language spoken: thus there is "gestural bilingualism."

Not the least interesting portion of this volume are the nineteen pages of sketches by Stuyvesant Van Veen. They render the verbal descriptions more understandable, and suggest the possibility of diversifying the techniques of present-day sociological research. The methods and results of this study, as the author suggests in passing, should have important consequences in the field of social psychology.

EVERETT V. STONEQUIST

Skidmore College

*Assimilação E Populações Marginais No Brasil.* By EMILIO WILLEMS. São Paulo, Brasil: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940. Pp. xv+343.

Described in the subtitle as "a sociological study of the German immigrants and their descendants," this volume is one of a collection of Brasiliана done under the direction of Fernando de Azevedo, now totalling about two hundred publications. Including studies in anthropology, demography, ethnology, and sociology, this *Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira* is a gold mine for the North American reader who is able to use Portuguese.

Willems is himself a member of the group he so accurately describes. In addition to the book under review, he has published nine other works of considerable merit as well as numerous magazine articles, and like most Latin-American scholars, has found time in odd moments to serve as an editor, for he is on the staff of *Sociologia*, a quarterly journal now in its third year.

*Assimilation and Marginal Populations in Brazil* is of more than ordinary interest to North American sociologists for two reasons. In the first place, it is certainly timely. Events of the past few years have left us extremely aware of the German immigration into Brazil. Unfortunately, our awareness has been accompanied by an almost abysmal ignorance, as is evidenced by the fact that we have quite generally thought of Brazil as the most likely port of entry for the infiltration of totalitarian ideologies. A knowledge of Brazilian history and the reading of this book would have gone far toward preparing us for the events of the recent Rio de Janeiro conference where it was Argentina—not Brazil—that kicked over the traces. The book

is timely, then, because it provides information that we very much need if we are to evaluate contemporary events in the field of inter-American relations wisely.

Moreover, the book merits attention because it is genuinely sociological. Willems is obviously abreast of recent theoretical developments both in Europe and the United States. He reads and writes English, and probably also speaks it. A glance at his citations and bibliography will serve to suggest a familiarity with works in this country that makes our corresponding ignorance of developments in Latin America appear provincial. Here, then, is a work that not only provides us with data that we need but also interprets those data against a theoretical background designed to give them the greatest value. For, certainly, it should be unnecessary to defend the proposition that the essential information we need for wise social engineering in the development of "hemispheric solidarity" is sociological.

The book opens with two chapters dealing with "The Concept of Assimilation" and "General Characteristics of the Process of Assimilation." Chapter Three is a consideration of "Factors Influencing Assimilation" and marks the beginning of Willems' analysis of the German migration to Brazil. The remainder of the book rests on data gathered during a five-year residence in the areas of German settlement, particularly in the region known as the Catarine coast. The plan followed in each chapter is that of presenting a given aspect of the process of assimilation and then relating it to the German population under examination.

The closing chapter gives an excellent summary of the entire book. In accord with sound theory, Willems draws a sharp conceptual distinction between acclimatization, adaptation, and amalgamation as biological processes, and assimilation, which he defines as "exclusively social." In his view, an understanding of the process of assimilation among a group of immigrants demands an analysis of the country from which they migrated. Accordingly, he so approaches his problem and finds that "among the German emigrants of the last century it is possible to distinguish three principal groups—the small landowners of the southern part of Germany, the rural proletariat from the east, and the intellectuals who came from all the German states." The causes which impelled these people to migrate are listed as rural population density, excessive division of lands through inheritance, high taxes, propaganda of colonization companies, political persecution, and the attractions offered by the fluid social conditions of the new countries.

Investigation of the vital statistics of the colonists suggests that "there is no doubt of the capacity of the German elements to survive and thrive in subtropical areas in spite of the fact that there are always initial difficulties of adjustment." Willems correctly observes, however, that such statistics tell little or nothing about the degree of accommodation or assimilation. He turns, therefore, to a consideration of these processes as such.

One factor making rapid assimilation difficult was the inevitable disillusionment which always followed from the exaggerated claims made by the agents of the colonization companies in order to induce the people to mi-

grate. This influence, however, paled into insignificance in comparison with the cultural isolation imposed upon the immigrants which "simply made assimilation impossible, facilitating, on the contrary, the formation of relatively distinct and autonomous cultural traits." From this it resulted that the immigrants developed a culture which was equally unlike that which they had left and that into which they were moving. Later, it was this situation which led to sharp conflicts between the early immigrants and later arrivals.

Once contact between Germans and Brazilians had been established, conflicts inevitably ensued. Willems holds that it is necessary to study such conflicts against the background of a typical manifestation which he terms "social resentment" (*o ressentimento social*) and which he describes as "a consequence of the marginal situation of the individual or group which finds itself in between two races or two cultures without really belonging to either."

This marginal position is characterized by "attitudinal ambivalence." "In relation to the Brazilian, the ambivalence of the immigrant, his hesitation and vacillation between the two cultures, is only to be understood as a function of the ambiguous attitudes which the Brazilian population, particularly the older people, took towards him." Ample evidence of this ambivalence is to be found in the numerous foreign-language publications of the Teuto-Brazilian group where attempts are made to carry water on both shoulders in an effort to stop the process of complete assimilation.

Willems describes the function of marginal groups as that of "assisting in the first stages of assimilation, thus avoiding violent maladjustments." In this function the foreign press assists and, in the main, the results are desirable. There is to be noted, however, a tendency for marginal groups to be transformed into "ethnic minorities" and this, of course, results in greatly slowing down the process of assimilation.

In his analysis of language as a factor in assimilation, the author presents some of his most interesting materials. In general, as is to be expected, the effort to prevent the loss of the mother tongue is followed by the development of a linguistic "Duke's Mixture," and in spite of opposition, the mother tongue is finally forced to yield to the language of the adopted country, though the rate of change is influenced by such factors as religion, social class, and cultural level.

The examination of the family structure in marginal groups indicates that in spite of many differences there is a great deal of intermarriage, especially among Catholics and the poorer classes. In Willems' own words, "An examination of the family structure reveals the retention of many culture traits derived from the German and Anglo-Saxon family organization." The participation of the woman in masculine activities and notions regarding virginity, prostitution, prenuptial and extra-marital sex relations, are examples of differences between the two culture patterns.

With reference to the economic organization of the immigrants, Willems finds that the facts are in accord with Weber's contention that there is a relationship between Protestantism and capitalism. In consequence, he notes a difference between the economic attitudes of Protestant and Catho-

lic Teuto-Brazilians, "the latter constituting intermediate types with reference to the rational economy of the Protestants on the one hand and the Brazilian 'matutos' (peasants) with their precapitalistic notions of occasional work on the other." Because of these differing conceptions of the function of work, there is much confusion and conflict, particularly in the urban areas. With reference to the agricultural areas Willems observes that there exist side by side "the highly rational notions and processes derived from capitalism and the irrational practices brought from Europe or borrowed from the Indians." Furthermore, due to axiological factors, it is possible to observe "widely differing agricultural practices among groups living in the same region but coming from different parts of Europe."

The chapter dealing with the influence of the church on the process of assimilation is quite stimulating. According to Willems, the Protestant Teuto-Brazilian communities are "relatively impervious to assimilation due to the tremendous resistance generated by the fusion of religious and ethnic ideas." On the other hand, "the influence of the Catholic clergy is almost entirely on the side of assimilation and nationalization."

In the field of education, "it is necessary" to distinguish between the incidental education offered by the social milieu and the formal education provided by the schools." Up to the present, the process of "Brazilianization" has been carried almost entirely by incidental exposure to the surrounding environment. So far as the schools are concerned, it is important to note that there are basic differences between the schools maintained by the marginal groups in Brazil and the schools in Germany. Furthermore, while the schools maintained by Catholic Teuto-Brazilians differ little, if at all, from the public schools, the schools of the Protestant groups "transmit values and ideas destined to transform their marginal groups into ethnic minorities," the net effect being to slow down the process of assimilation.

In the area of law and politics, Willems notes a basic conflict between two conceptions of law—*ius sanguinis* and *ius soli*. Quoting Pontes de Miranda, Willems observes that "European peoples . . . generally adopt *ius sanguinis* (blood law), whereas South Americans, influenced by the heterogeneous character of their populations, tend to base their laws on the conception of *ius soli* (territorial law). In the efforts of marginal groups to reconcile their old with the new culture, Willems finds evidence of the notion of *ius sanguinis*, the same attitude being revealed by the Brazilians in their tendency to classify people by racial characteristics. Willems concludes that "both conceptions carried to their logical extremes are detrimental to the process of assimilation." Another juridical factor impeding assimilation is the notion of "communal property," introduced by Teuto-Russians from the Volga region, which came into conflict with the notion of individual ownership developed by Brazilian law.

So much for an altogether inadequate resume of the contents of this very stimulating book. It is a pleasure to call it to the attention of North-American students in the hope that it may become one more factor in the development of inter-American goodwill.

REX D. HOPPER

University of Texas

*America's Own Refugees: Our 4,000,000 Homeless Migrants.* By HENRY HILL COLLINS, JR. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Pp. 323. \$3.00.

Congressman Tolan's House Committee investigating migration has passed through two distinct phases since its inception. The first was the "Grapes of Wrath" phase, in which the Committee probed into the results of depression-induced migration, stressing the manner in which migrants were cuffed about and generally mistreated throughout the decade of the 1930's. More, recently, however, the Committee has shifted its interest and perspectives to fit the very different problems of war-boom migration.

Collins' book highlights and summarizes the great wealth of testimony presented before the Committee during its first phase. War-boom migration is only touched upon in a hasty chapter added at the end of the book.

The basic conclusions Collins had drawn from the Committee's record have long since become truisms among migration students, but unfortunately not among the public at large, to whom this book is addressed.

One of these conclusions is simply this: "Migration is a national affair." The Tolan Committee has had to fight constantly against the notion that distress migration is a private affair between Los Angeles and the State of Oklahoma. Every American community is the source of destitute migrants, and every American community finds destitute migrants in its midst. But virtually no community will accept responsibility for giving relief to "someone else's" migrants. It is now obvious to all that nothing short of Federal migrant aid can stop the shameless buck-passing that supposedly "solved" the distressed migrant problem before and after the old Federal transient program of the FERA.

Collins also points out that destitute migrants are not really creatures from the lower depths. Migrants are people who "retain the spunk to get up and git and not just to take disaster lying down." This is neither sentimentality nor wishful thinking, but hard truth as demonstrated in several recent research studies. Indeed, you might be a destitute migrant yourself some day, warns Mr. Collins, pointing to a frightening case study in which one Tolan Committee witness found his "\$5,000 to \$7,000 a year income replaced by a tiny semimonthly 'non-settled' relief check."

Collins' progressive recommendations for lightening the burdens of destitute migrants include extension of FSA camps and cooperative farms on the Casa Grande model, soil conservation, uniform settlement laws, and adequate relief at home.

Collins' method of presentation is generally effective, despite a habit of translating good English into a strange archaic double-talk. Thus, cotton becomes "white gold"; and war is "the fetid breath of Mars." Malaria cannot be plain malaria, but instead "this scourge of ancient Rome" and "the malady of the marshes" carried in "the night flights of the female Anopheles."

MALCOLM BROWN

*Division of Research  
Work Projects Administration*

*Today's Refugees, Tomorrow's Citizens.* By GERHART SAENGER. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941. Pp. 286. \$3.00.

This study of recently-arrived refugees from Europe was set up as a research project in cooperation with several colleges and social agencies in the city of New York. The author, who is both a German refugee and a trained social scientist, was assisted in the collection of materials by a group of college students who interviewed a number of refugees, analyzed records of social agencies, and consulted employers and others who had come into contact with refugees.

The central theme of the book is the process of Americanization of the 100,000 or more European refugees who came to this country after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. In the introductory chapters the author discusses such questions as the number and nationality of the refugees, the conditions which drove them out of Europe, and the effects of oppression on their personalities. The main body of the book deals with the immigrants' early experiences in America in their search for homes and jobs. Many of these recent migrants, it is pointed out, belonged to the upper middle class, and were qualified by training and experience to engage in professional work and hold responsible positions. Their inevitable shift of status to the lower social and economic level after arrival in this country stands out as an important factor in their problems of adjustment, and is illustrated by the author in many brief documents.

The chief value of the book lies in its presentation of abundant concrete materials that give a more vivid picture of the process of Americanization than if it were discussed merely in general terms. One of its disappointing features is the limited space given to statistical data, a lack which apparently grows out of the inadequacy of governmental records of migration.

From the point of view of the reviewer, the purpose of the book could have been accomplished even more satisfactorily if it had been condensed into a smaller compass. It is unfortunate that the pattern of American monographs goes in the direction of prolixity instead of brevity. Greater attention to the condensation of materials on the part of American social scientists might well prove to be a great boon to the field of scholarship.

JESSE F. STEINER

*University of Washington*

*When Peoples Meet: A Study in Race and Culture Contacts.* Edited by ALAIN LOCKE and BERNHARD J. STERN. New York: Progressive Education Association. Pp. 768. \$3.50.

Besides fifteen introductory chapter analyses by the editors, this book consists of ninety-five excerpts from publications of seventy-six different scholars. Often the passages used have been condensed to a fourth or a fifth, but the job of compression appears to have been excellently done. It is safe to say that this volume comprises the essence of some 2500-3000 pages of the best that has appeared on the various aspects of the subject.

An idea of what the book deals with may be had from the titles of the

five Parts: Culture Contact and the Growth of Civilization; Varieties of Culture Conflicts; The Ways of Dominant Peoples; Devices of Power; The Ways of Submerged Peoples; Tactics of Survival and Counter-Assertion; The Contemporary Scene in Inter-Cultural Relations.

The authors are very skeptical of the dogmas of the racialists; as, for example, that historic peoples are true racial groups and represent "pure races"; that intelligence and capacity for cultural development are determined by factors of race; that human cultures and civilizations, being racially characteristic are thus proprietary possessions of specific races, nations, or classes.

When one people holds another down, or is trying to do so, we may be sure that the race-distinctness and race-endowment concepts will be worked for all they are worth—and a lot more! For they do yeoman's service in justifying—to one's more scrupulous brethren and to carping outsiders—the devices of dominance and exploitation that are certain to be employed. The reviewer—having gone about quite a little among stranger peoples and races—is disposed to dismiss four-fifths of the claims of the racialists as piffle and bunk, yet he is by no means convinced that all branches of mankind are virtually equal in natural capacity. He looks upon some alien peoples and stocks as decidedly more worth protecting, even incorporating, than others.

Of the twenty papers presented within the field, *The Ways of Submerged Peoples*, most relate to the reactions of Negroes and American Indians to White dominance, although a few are of a general character. They are, no doubt, as good specimens of "scientific" treatment of the subject as can be found.

"The Contemporary Scene" is lighted up by such excellent papers as Macartney's "Nationalism and the Minorities"; Sapir's "Language and National Antagonisms"; Jaszi's "Reversals of Dominance in Central Europe"; Frick's "The Nazi Racialist Interpretation of History"; the Webb's "National Minorities and the Soviet Union."

If between the covers of any other volume as much richness is to be found on the subject of majority and minority population elements, dominant and submerged peoples, as in this book, I am sure I don't know what it can be.

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS

*University of Wisconsin*

*My India, My America.* By KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI, with an Introduction by Louis Bromfield. New York: Duell Sloan and Pearce, 1941. Pp. ix+647. \$3.75.

The author of this book, who is young enough to have grown up in the Gandhi awakening, came to America with a student's interest and enthusiasm, and has written what is unquestionably the best book so far available on contemporary India. Everything here was new and attracted his attention. After eight years he makes comparisons that are incisive.

Sometimes he has to catch himself just before becoming flippant, but his humor has convincing sincerity. In the first part of the book are many comparisons of the two countries that throw each into focus, not always to the credit of either. Having demonstrated a capacity to look at India through American eyes, the author devotes more than two-thirds of the book to interpreting India to America. He does not overburden his presentation with too much history and philosophy, and uses no more Indian words than are necessary, but both history and philosophy somehow are always apparent. We are given a picture of the way Hindus think, an analysis of non-violence, and a clarifying discussion of British-Indian relations which is not without some heat, but is remarkably objective. A most valuable contribution is a well-balanced discussion of contemporary personalities, beginning with Gandhi, Nehru, and Tagore, whose names are familiar to Americans, and then including many others of dynamic importance arranged according to the ideological as well as the political parts they play. There is reference to some of the forerunners of these leaders, but the reader is not burdened by excessive attention to the names of the departed. Finally, there is a consideration of India's part in the present world. The author is still young, and this gives a freshness to the book that he could not get twenty years hence. The book is written in excellent style and is easy to read.

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER

Beloit College

*The History of the Jews in Rome.* By HERMANN VOGELSTEIN. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1941. Pp. 434. \$2.25.

This volume, translated by Moses Hadas, is the seventh in the Jewish Communities Series, published by the Jewish Publication Society of America. (It is to some extent an abridgment and modernization of the two-volume *History of the Jews in Rome* published in 1895 at Berlin by H. Vogelstein and Paul Rieger.) Colorful indeed is the story of the eternal city's most eternal inhabitants, the Jews, who have lived there for more than two thousand years and survived. The author traces their varied fortunes from their early appearance in pagan Rome, where they were on the whole happy, through their long suppression at the hands of Christendom, to their liberation during the Napoleonic era, and finally to their de-classing and de-racination in Fascist Italy. Roman Jewry is particularly interesting as a culture case study because of Rome's position in the Catholic world. Increasingly, organized anti-Semitism was cultivated by the church, culminating in the creation of the Ghetto, officially launched by the papal bull of Pope Paul IV on July 12, 1555.

Apart from insights into the problems of anti-Semitism and group conflict, the sociologist will be interested in the assimilative and acculturative processes that obtained in Roman Jewry, which led to a high degree of de-Judaization. Yet the Jews of Rome were well organized by an integrated network of communal organizations, which favored their survival, and

even assumed responsibility for the assistance of refugees from other countries. The enforcement of primary group controls is illustrated in a special appendix, the "Pragmatica of 1702," an interesting series of communal regulations based on the ethico-moral standards of Judaism, enjoined at pain of excommunication. The volume is provided with a selected bibliography and full index.

EPHRAIM FISCHOFF

*Monmouth Junior College, New Jersey*

*Daily Life in Ancient Rome.* By JEROME CARCOPINO; edited with bibliography and notes by Henry T. Rowell; translated from the French by E. O. Lorimer. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. xv+342. \$4.00.

"If Roman life is not to become lost in anachronisms or petrified in abstractions we must study it within a strictly defined period." In pursuit of this valid methodological concept the author confines himself to the generation which was born about the middle of the first century A.D., and produces the most useful and vivid picture of Roman private life that has yet appeared. The work is, in general, realistic in its approach and does full justice to the economic factors in Roman life and describes well the highly-stratified class structure of the early Roman empire. The author is thus, for the most part, saved from assumptions about a "society as such" which dog so much French classical scholarship under the influence of the school of Durkheim. In his treatment of religion the author frequently lapses into formalism but the alert reader can discount these tendencies. The bibliography and notes contributed by the American editor are not the least valuable part of the book.

A. D. WINSPEAR

*University of Wisconsin*

*Boston's Immigrants, 1790-1865.* By OSCAR HANDLIN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. ix+287. \$3.25.

This is an excellent study by a historian of an integrated body of sociological phenomena. In the Foreword, the author presents a somewhat puzzling explanation of his grounds for undertaking the task. "Only by considering immigrant adjustment on the local scale can the influence of the *milieu* be given full weight. Comprehending that, the practical sociologists heretofore most directly concerned with these matters have produced a number of excellent community studies. But since restrictive legislation has pushed the immigration problem into his sphere, the historian now faces the primary obligation of analyzing it." The reader is left in some bewilderment as to whether this statement is meant to imply that nothing properly comes within the sphere of history until some laws have been passed concerning it. However, this conundrum does not in the least affect the value of the book. The subject matter of both history and sociology must ever be essentially the same—the differences are in either the approach or the handling of the materials.

The great immigration movement to the United States is an exceptionally spectacular and influential composite of innumerable minor elements, differing widely among themselves although uniting to form a generalized picture. Many studies of particular units in this great complex have already appeared, and have proved effective in promoting and understanding all the factors, forces, and consequences involved. The immigration to Boston during the first half of the nineteenth century is an especially appropriate subject for such study, not only because of the geographical limitation of its destination, but also because of the restricted nature of its source. These immigrants were predominantly Irish, similar in racial constitution and cultural background, and migrating for essentially uniform reasons.

Handlin presents a scholarly, unbiased, and revealing account of the development of this movement and its impact upon the entrenched Boston population. The story of the resulting clash of cultures and the eventual working adjustments is revealing. The book is an excellent case study in the great problem of social assimilation. One feature, among others, that stands out clearly is its refutation of the all-too-comforting and popular notion that the American community, local or national, has been able to accept great contingents of foreign population without experiencing significant and lasting modifications of its own cultural features.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

*New York University*

*The Myth of the Negro Past.* By MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941. Pp. xiv + 374. \$4.00.

This book represents a continuation of Herskovits' interest in the Negro and acculturation in the New World and is the immediate outgrowth of a research memorandum which he prepared for the Carnegie-Myrdal study of the Negro in America. While the title might suggest to the novice that it is an anti-Negro document, it will readily convey to most scholars the idea that the author is trying to demolish what he calls "the myth of the Negro past." Herskovits begins by stating the "myth": that Negroes are of a childlike nature and adjust easily to harsh conditions; that only the lower African classes were enslaved; that Negroes came from all parts of Africa, were distributed and disciplined as slaves in America in such a way that they could not retain their old heritages; that the African cultures were so savage anyway that they would naturally have to give way to the superior White culture; and that "the Negro is thus a man without a past." He illustrates the deplorable state of affairs in which scholars have been guilty of following the "myth" by citing the works of men like R. E. Park, E. F. Frazier, Charles S. Johnson, and myself.

After a plea for the significance of Africanisms for research on the Negro and for planning practical programs, the author launches into the details of his argument. He first discusses tribal origins, the African background, the Negro's reaction to enslavement, and the acculturative process in

America. The various points in the "mythology" are reversed one by one so as to show that Africanisms had a good chance to survive. Then follow chapters on Africanisms in secular life (carrying burdens on the head, styles of coiffure, indirection, family structure, etc.), in religious life, and in language and the arts. Finally come some brief conclusions and an appendix of "directives for further study."

All praise to the author for bringing to bear on his problem his wide knowledge of West Africa and of American Negro culture and for filling in certain gaps in our knowledge of Africanisms. Lack of space forbids detailed criticisms, but a few may be mentioned briefly. (1) The "myth" framework of the argument seems definitely overdone. (2) the author's compulsion to correct the story leads him to magnify the importance of many minor gaps in previous works, to deprecate the work of authors who have interpreted the Negro without recourse to Africanisms, and to an unwarranted enthusiasm over the "practical values" of an exact knowledge of Africanisms. (3) There is not sufficient perspective on the quantitative aspects of Africanisms in relation to gross trends in acculturation. For example, after reading pages on linguistic survivals in the Gullah dialect, one might like to know how many Negroes speak Gullah today and how many are likely to be speaking it fifty years hence. (4) Herskovits complains that educators, health officials, etc., ignore the practical implications of African-rooted customs and behavior among Negroes, yet he makes not one concrete suggestion as to how the knowledge of Africanisms is to be applied. As a matter of fact, most Southern educators, health workers, employers, etc., have long been aware of and made allowance for differentials in Negro and White behavior, and they will be slow to see how their tasks are to be lightened by an analysis of the cultural genealogy of Negro behavior. (5) One immensely practical problem is how to prevent this book, which has a high purpose and should do much good, from becoming the handmaiden of those who are looking for new justifications for the segregation and differential treatment of Negroes!

Author and publisher have used the system of placing all footnotes in the back of the book—an abominable practice when, as in the present work, the author so frequently does not tell who is being quoted. One author is quoted or cited at least nine times, yet the author's name never appears in the text. Again, let the reader see how long it takes him to find "Miss Moore's papers listed above" (see p. 245).

GUY B. JOHNSON

*University of North Carolina*

*Chaga Childhood: A Description of Indigenous Education in an East African Tribe.* By O. F. RAUM. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 413. \$6.50.

Studies of education among primitive peoples have often suffered because of too-narrow conceptions of the field of inquiry. However, with the recognition of the implications of the fact that even in the absence of formal institutions devoted specifically to teaching the young, the individual is

nevertheless able to take his place as an adult in society, and culture is effectively transmitted from one generation to another, several excellent studies of the many forces playing upon the child have appeared. Raum's book is one of these. Starting with the preparations made for the coming child, it follows the individual from the time of his entry into society through infancy, childhood, adolescence, and marriage to the time when he replaces the preceding generation through the death of his parents. *Chaga Childhood* is in itself a demonstration of the value of making a detailed study of a particular problem in a society whose culture has previously been comprehensively studied. Telling use has been made of the 62 references on the Chaga listed in the bibliography.

Two examples of the manner in which the spontaneous play activity of Chaga children at very early ages may anticipate their role in later life may be cited. A boy who had played with toy hoes even before he was sure of himself on his feet, at two years and three months "had made a little irregular garden for himself without advice or control from any of his elders. In this little patch, whose soil he had loosened with his beloved hoe, he had planted a few beans and irrigated them with his urine." A girl at the age of one year, already "immediately looks around for a stick to place on her head, though she cannot yet walk" whenever she sees her mother return carrying a load on her head. Nine months later she tried to balance a tin, filled with sticks and stones, on her head without supporting it with her hand.

Chaga parents take a hand in directing their child's behavior at a still earlier age. When a child begins to stand for the first time, "little bells are tied round his ankles to give him pleasure in stamping his foot so that he may become steady on his legs. For an infant that has not learned to walk at twelve months a little apparatus is constructed for practising. Two forked props are rammed into the ground and a long pole is laid across them. The child enjoys raising himself up at the pole and sidling along from one prop to the other. If he is sluggish, the mother places a banana, a bell, or a toy at one end, and as the infant approaches, transfers it to the other end."

Not the least important of Raum's contributions to the study of primitive education, certainly, is his critical review of the theories which have been developed concerning it. A comprehensive list of works dealing with primitive education are discussed; the criticisms of these are forthright and, for the most part, justified. The main weakness of this section is a decided bias in favor of Malinowski, which will be obvious to the reader in the discoveries which are credited to him, the prominence given to his works which have a relatively indirect bearing upon the subject, and the adjectives used to describe their importance.

Other defects in the work are for the most part minor. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether statements are meant to apply to the Chaga alone, or to be taken as generalizations on education in all primitive societies. The cases selected as evidence to support the conclusions are not always convincing; the conclusions may themselves be sound, but occasionally other interpretations seem possible for the examples that are given as

illustrations. In a few instances the use of the word "educational" is puzzling, particularly in the discussion of the "educational" function of the bride price (p. 73). While the rituals and omens centering around birth are unquestionably a part of Chaga culture and as such are learned by adults, one wonders why these are described in detail when the techniques of agriculture, cooking and housekeeping, the ingredients of specific charms, etc., are omitted. And finally, in view of the fact that the general organization of the book follows the life-cycle of the individual, it is curious that it should begin with a description of the education of the husband and wife for parenthood; this would seem logically to follow the discussion of preparation for marriage.

M. J. HERSKOVITS

*Northwestern University*

*Married Life in an African Tribe.* By I. SCHAPERA. With an Introduction by Bronislaw Malinowski. New York: Sheridan House, 1941. Pp. xvi + 364. \$3.50.

This book, which deals with the Kgatla of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, deserves to rank along with Malinowski's well-known work, *The Sexual Life of Savages*. It explores in a detailed and intimate way every aspect of courtship, betrothal, marriage, family life, household routine, and the relation of parent and child, among the Kgatla. The Kgatla people have been exposed to European influences for a century, and their old tribal culture has been greatly modified. Social change, then, is the main theme of the book. The author has tried "to record the ancient usages, also to indicate how far they survive or have been displaced, and to ascertain the reasons for the changes that have taken place."

"The European influences," Schapera finds, "have not operated in a uniform direction. Some have tended to loosen the ties uniting the family, and therefore produce instability; others have created a new basis for harmonious relations among its members." The author warns that "disintegration" is not synonymous with "demoralization," and says that "the process at work may perhaps be more accurately described as one of 'reconstruction.'" So far, however, the constructive forces are "less potent than the disintegrating tendencies." Malinowski's introduction to the book is, incidentally, a forceful statement of the need for the anthropologist's being alive to "the solid realities of human destiny," so as "to supply the statesman with wide, sound, and well-matured knowledge."

GUY B. JOHNSON

*University of North Carolina*

*The Baiga.* By VERRIER ELWIN. London: John Murray, 1939. Pp. xxxi + 550. 30 shillings.

Here is an ethnography that is a joy to read. It is well written, authoritative, and best of all, convincing as a portrayal of the realities of Baiga life.

The people who inhabit this book are men and women, not bloodless repositories of curious customs. Sociology textbooks are apt to cull anthropological examples from a select list of standard monographs, the usual source for India being Rivers' *The Todas*. While Rivers' work still stands as a classic of careful descriptive writing, it gives only the rules of the cultural game and none of the interplay that takes place within the tribe. It has about the same relation to the excitable and exciting life of the Todas as the relevant chapter in Hoyle bears to a good rousing round of draw poker. Elwin's account of a tribe in India not only depicts the formal structure of the culture, but also tells what goes on inside.

The author has good reason to know what goes on there, for he has lived and worked among the tribesmen since 1932. Oxford-trained in theology and literature, he settled in an isolated Central Indian village, established his Society for the Service of the Gonds, built a school and a leper refuge. Recently he married a girl of the Gond tribe. Elwin was soon attracted to the Baiga, neighbors of the Gonds. His first encounter with them is recorded in his published diary (*Leaves from the Jungle*, pp. 130-131, 1936).

Psychologically, the Baiga wear no man's collar. Their neighbors hold them in awe as powerful magicians, and they themselves are the first to admit that they have a firmer grip on the supernatural than any other people in the world. Caste-like stratifications occur within the tribe but, far from acknowledging the spiritual suzerainty of the Brahmins, the Baiga will not take food or water from them and generally regard the Brahmins as inferior. This is because of the dark and unfounded suspicion that Brahmins are lax in the matter of menstrual seclusion.

The one serious blow to Baiga self-esteem has come about through government interdiction of their traditional *bewar* economy. They are nomadic cultivators who clear and burn a patch of jungle, work it for a few years, then move to a new site. Those villages which have made the change from hoe cultivation to the government-sponsored plough agriculture have lost the tight integrity of aboriginal life. Elwin remarks (p. 131), "The contrast between a *bewar*-cutting village and a 'civilized' village is astonishing; the social and religious life of the latter is emasculated, void of reality and vigour. Materially, it may be better off, but the inner life of the people is dying, and the Baiga of these villages will soon sink to the dead level of apathy and futility of their semi-civilized neighbours." Social scientists currently concerned with problems of morale would do well to consider the case history of these Baiga and other primitives whose zest and spirit have sagged in spite of material gains.

But many Baiga still carry on with the old ways and the author depicts a culture that is a going concern. Certain aspects of tribal life that usually receive scant attention are fully detailed. The gap between theoretically proper behavior and actual conduct is well documented, as is the general human tendency for the interpretation of social codes to be influenced by the status of a culprit. Thus marriage within the sib, theoretically incest, may be overlooked if done by a person of importance or severely punished if committed by an insignificant fellow. Incest, as defined by the Baiga

themselves, seems to be fairly common. One "civilized" Baiga confided to Elwin that "It is not a very great sin to go to your mother or sister. The real crime is to kill a cow."

Elwin attributes the frequency of incest to a weakening of the laws of exogamy, but offers little proof. Equally doubtful are a few other historical reconstructions. The method of killing pigs by crushing need not suggest a pre-iron origin for the custom. Nor is good evidence adduced to show that the Baiga, who now speak a Hindi dialect, once used a language of the "Austro-Asiatic" group—in itself a controversial category. Some of the author's functional interpretations are similarly questionable. "Those institutions that have a legend to vitalize and control them are living; those that have not are dying out" seems to put the cart before the horse. It is somewhat akin to saying that violence is rampant in our culture because it so commonly occurs in movies.

Sixteen life histories offer valuable insight into the personality make-up of some Baiga. But the three or four pages devoted to each are hardly enough to tell us what we want to know about the counterpoint of culture and personality among the Baiga. Elwin is strategically situated and eminently fitted to contribute a series of full-dress life histories and so furnish data that would complement his fine monograph.

DAVID G. MANDELBAUM

*University of Minnesota*

*The Apache Indians.* By FRANK C. LOCKWOOD. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. Pp. xvi+348. \$3.50.

*Red Eagles of the Northwest.* By FRANCIS HAINES. Portland, Oregon: The Scholastic Press, 1939. Pp. xi+361. \$2.50.

Each of these books tells the story of an Indian tribe's experiences with white civilization. Lockwood relates the history of the Apaches of the Southwest, Haines that of the Nez Perce of the plateau country of Idaho and eastern Washington and Oregon. The course of events in both cases shows many parallels. Both tribes were aboriginally nomadic gatherers and hunters. Both adopted the horse from the whites and for a time developed a fairly stable cultural adjustment built around the horse complex. Both tribes underwent a series of bellicose adventures involving Indians and whites in their period of horse-culture, and both developed a number of outstanding leaders whose personal history holds much of the romance and poignancy of "thriller" fiction. Both peoples suffered from the stupidity and the cruelty and greed of the whites, and both have made a second adjustment to reservation life of a settled character.

If one cares for classification of books, these two works contain more of the flavor of history than of sociological or anthropological investigations. The emphasis is upon the chronological course of events and upon personalities in their historical setting, rather than upon systematic analysis of cultural or social process. Nevertheless we have here two worthy and interesting additions to the documentation of the processes of acculturation.

The Nez Perce case illustrates particularly well the striking and far-reaching cultural effects of the introduction of a "borrowed" complex, that of the horse. The books are well documented, but are planned for the general reader as much as for the specialist. In both cases typography and illustration are excellent.

As the documents on acculturation and culture change of "primitive" peoples accumulate, we may look eventually for a sound statement of theoretical principles covering this process, which of course is not confined to preliterates, but is one of the most universal processes of human society.

JOHN GILLIN

*Duke University*

*Man in the "Cut-Over": A Study of Family-Farm Resources in Northern Wisconsin.* By GEORGE W. HILL and RONALD A. SMITH. Madison, Wisconsin: Wis. Agri. Exp. Sta. Res. Bull. 139, April, 1941. Pp. 71.

There are millions of acres of cut-over land in the U. S. and other millions of submarginal land to which the methods of this study are applicable and to which some of its findings might be relevant.

After giving the characteristics of the relief and non-relief samples (very interesting reading), an integrated, disintegrated, and village-centered community are analyzed. These studies are largely on a descriptive level but are based upon intensive factual studies. Some significant findings emerge, e.g., in the disintegrated community, three-fourths of the relief families can be traced to four stem families, while six stem families who have never received relief account for twenty-six families, only three of which have ever been on relief. By work exchange, visiting analyses, etc., it is clearly shown that relief and nonrelief birds tend to flock together—they tend to be, or become, distinct socioeconomic classes. Relief status is more marked than kinship as determiner of sociation.

The entire analysis is sociological in conception and execution and ends with the usual "practical recommendations" of the rural sociologist. It is a good illustration of the laborious path scientific sociology must follow—a path that leads somewhere, both theoretically and practically.

READ BAIN

*Miami University*

*An Empire of Dust.* By LAWRENCE SVOBIDA. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1940. Pp. 203. \$3.00.

These memoirs of an ex-farmer of the Great Plains describe the catastrophic last decade in western Kansas. Svobida makes no pretense of presenting a learned treatise on man-land adjustments in the dust-bowl area; nevertheless, this unsophisticated account of his experiences is an example of a source of material which should be interesting to rural sociologists. In a highly personalized, yet surprisingly objective manner, the author reports the intensely dramatic sequence of misfortunes between 1929 and 1939—wind, hail, drought, dust, cold, parasites, and uncertain markets and prices.

In simple, unemotional terms, the reactions to these disasters are recorded: the early optimism, the ensuing bewilderment, and the final collapse of morale accompanied by the disintegration of social ties and community life. Unfortunately (for the sociologist) the author is a bachelor and so we miss the effects of these events on family processes. The author's prediction that the "Great Plains region is already a desert that cannot be reclaimed through the plans and labors of man," stands in contrast to the recent revival of agriculture in this area.

JOHN USEEM

*University of South Dakota*

*Hollywood: The Movie Colony, The Movie Makers.* By LEO C. ROSTEN. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1941. Pp. xvi+436. \$4.00.

Hollywood is known as the creative hub of the movie industry, and as such it has carried entertainment to the far corners of the globe. Few places are as well known and as little understood as this center of make-believe. The author aims to present the facts about the movie colony and movie makers. Hollywood is put under the "microscope of social science." The project was financed by the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations; the materials were collected by a trained staff of social scientists which included two sociologists, an economist, a personnel expert, a statistician, a translator, and others; and the advisory group consisted of four social scientists, all of whom resided many miles away from Hollywood.

In gathering the material, detailed questionnaires were circulated to producers, directors, writers, actors, and others. Interviews with prominent leaders in the movie colony were carried on over a period of months. Documentary materials were supplied by the major motion picture companies. Observations were made of the practices, manners, and mores, and the "spirit of Hollywood which permeates its incomes, spending, homes, parties, romances, politics, prestige, and so on." The four main groups of movie makers—producers, directors, writers, and actors—were carefully studied.

The movie elite make big money and they spend it lavishly in their fight for prestige, and on night life, luxurious mansions, horses and horse-racing, gifts, and politics. In fact, the reader gets the impression from the recital of statistical and descriptive material presented that money-making and money-spending are the chief occupations of Hollywood. The book is heavily freighted with money matters. The emphasis is predominantly on "Big Money"—the enormous costs of pictures, the big salaries, and the huge incomes derived from pictures. Slight reference is made to the rather low earnings of the thousands of movie workers.

The folkways and mores of the movie colony are depicted in detail. The description of the leading movie makers gives an intimate picture of what goes on behind the scene; and, on the whole, it is an accurate portrayal of the struggles, the successes and failures of those who are in motion picture production. Certain comments concerning outstanding personalities are too brief to do justice to them, and some statements are misleading. For in-

stance, in describing Cecil B. De Mille's genius in sensing what the public wants, as well as his showmanship ability, the author states that "De Mille gazed upon life and came to the conclusion that the brotherhood of man was primarily interested in only two things—money and sex" (p. 364). De Mille has been a top-flight film maker for nearly thirty years, with sixty-six outstanding productions to his credit, and his success cannot be attributed merely to the emphasis on money and sex.

The story of Hollywood is a fascinating one, and the author has written an interesting account of it. The bulk of the material is presented in a popular style. Some of the statistical data are presented in footnotes and in the appendix. It is evident that a great deal of material was gathered by the staff, and much of it was used to good advantage. However, the factual material is used in part to support the story rather than as the basis for conclusions. As a research report it lacks scientific scrutiny and verification of data; and, except for the description of folkways and mores, one looks in vain for the terminology of the social sciences.

MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

*University of Southern California*

*World-Wide Influences of the Cinema. A Study of Official Censorship and International Cultural Aspects of Motion Pictures.* Cinematography Series Number 2. By JOHN EUGENE HARLEY. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1940. Pp. xvi+320. \$2.00.

This volume, written by the chairman of the Committee on International Relations of the American Institute of Cinematography, is the result of three years of study. Information was obtained from leading agencies and organizations in the world of the cinema and from the governments of many countries. The main body of the work deals with a review of censorship of motion pictures carried on by national official and unofficial agencies. There are also chapters on the relationships of official international organization and of several unofficial agencies to the cinema, on documentary films, and on the extent of international commerce in films. Seven appendices cover miscellaneous matters.

The book clearly represents a great deal of correspondence in search of complete and interesting facts on censorship and the activities of various organizations. It is, however, not a scientific study, but a survey or a careful documentary report on some phases of the motion picture as an international medium of social interaction. The title of the study is over-ambitious, since the work is mainly a review of some aspects of censorship. There is no frame of reference, no suggestions are given for further investigation, and there is no attempt to relate the study to existing works on censorship or the motion picture. For example, the only reference on the relative effects of motion pictures and radio on behavior is to an article in a cinema trade publication (p. 63). The bibliography contains little that provides a more fundamental orientation and the implications of such items are not explored. In those places where systematic analysis is attempted, as in Chapter II,

it is not very searching or complete. There are some opportunities for statistical summarization of the information, especially in reviewing reported reasons for censorship (Chapters II and V), but such generalization is lacking. On the whole, the presentation is anecdotal in character and leaves the reader with the considerable task of discovering the significance of the project.

MAPHEUS SMITH

*University of Kansas*

*The Long Week End: A Social History of Great Britain, 1918-1939.* By ROBERT GRAVES and ALAN HODGE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. Pp. xii+455. \$3.00.

"The more newspapers people read, the shorter grows their historical memory; yet most people read little else." It is thus regrettable that so few books do so well the useful task Graves and Hodge assigned themselves. Records of other centuries and of other cultures have their significance, but these authors demonstrate how much we can so soon forget of our own immediate past and how useful it would be to remember more detail more vividly.

The note on which the story begins is portrayed in these sentences:

The problem that now faced the Government, local authorities, and what were conveniently known as "vested interests," was how to smother the threat of social revolution which the Fighting Forces constituted. The time-honoured solution was to soothe them with handsome promises until they were safely demobilized, meanwhile depicting the dangers and penalties of revolt in the most horrid colours.

The details of the "Khaki Election," in which few men in khaki voted, demobilization, and the "dole" follow.

The book is reportorial, impressionistic, suggestive. It is not and was not meant to be a sociological analysis. It is, as the authors assert, "a reliable record of what took place, of a forgettable sort, during the twenty-one-year interval between two great European wars."

Graves and Hodge end their book on much the same note on which it begins. Chamberlain had just announced over the BBC, "I have to tell you that . . . this country is at war with Germany." And then the author concludes with:

But the country was still sound at heart, the staunch Conservatives felt, as they hurried on, a few minutes late, to Sunday service; and the social revolution, so long averted, would now be made altogether impossible by a new and sterner DORA. Besides, Britain always won the last battle.

The Left did not know what to feel or where to go. They were left staring rather stupidly at the knobs of their radio-sets. Chamberlain had faced up to Hitlerism at last; but was this exactly what they had meant?

Fifteen pages of index and (despite a lack of footnotes) fairly adequate but not burdensome references to sources in the text provide the book with workmanlike mechanics.

ALFRED McCLEUNG LEE

*New York University*

*Ocean City: An Ecological Analysis of a Satellite Community.* By J. ELLIS Voss. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1941. Pp. xi+152.

This study of a resort community would perhaps qualify as a master's thesis in most departments of sociology, but one is rather surprised to find that its author has presumably been awarded a doctor's degree on the strength of his researches. For a long time this reviewer has had the notion that something like a degree of "doctor of tenacity" might profitably be given to individuals who are willing to collect mountains of data and write sterile accounts about what they have found. The present volume certainly confirms this notion. Nowhere does there seem to be anything faintly resembling an original contribution to the field of sociology. The investigation purports to be an "ecological analysis," but ecology appears to be a sort of conceptual window-dressing to provide respectability for a rather wide array of data having no relation to ecological processes or patterns. Chapters on family life in a resort community, the "business of recreation," education, government, and "cultural relationships" give the volume certain superficial resemblances to the Middletown books, but the contents fall far short of the penetrating insights into community life exhibited by the Lynds. Perhaps it is too much to expect doctors of philosophy to possess a literary style, but one might suppose they would be able to use standard English correctly. The presence of an astonishing number of grammatical flaws does not cast much luster either upon the author or the editorial offices of the publisher.

NOEL P. GIST\*

*University of Missouri*

*Criminology.* By ELEGIUS WEIR. Joliet, Ill.: Institute for the Scientific Study of Crime, 1941. Pp. xx+329. \$3.00.

Father Weir has had a distinguished career as Roman Catholic Chaplain of Joliet Penitentiary and as a college teacher. His text is conspicuous for its intentional omission of any history of criminology, the absence of quotations from other criminologists, and the inclusion of statistics "only when at variance with the state or federal figures." Perhaps because of these facts, Weir has converted his knowledge and experience into a fascinating personal document with all the readability of a good novel. This hard-hitting book says the things about crime, criminals, and politics that the insiders know but say only gently or not at all. It talks about prisons as the prisoners know them rather than as they appear in the published official reports.

White-collar crime is not ignored—"In the administration of justice the essentials of criminality have been overlooked; the incidentals, such as class distinction, have not." Those familiar with Illinois will be able to supply names for those who "Talk to the public thru a controlled publication" waiting "for an opportunity to criticize the administration publicly in an attempt to destroy it politically" and the parole board that "fails to recognize the degree of criminality . . . as an important factor in release . . . disregards a statute . . . by its mistakes, malicious acts or ignorance, are

\* Mr. Gist did not like the book. (ed.)

largely responsible for the recidivism of those who have been dealt with too severely."

Some criticisms seem indicated; the book tries to cover too wide a field. One reading it would get the idea that the sort of urban criminality the author met in Joliet and Chicago were almost the only sort. From the point of view of the teacher in the lay college there are further objections; the book does not correspond to ordinary textbook organization; the author has no hesitation in saying what should and should not be done about the problems discussed; causation is explained and control discussed in terms of free will and the other conceptions of the Church ("If there be no God, there is no morality.")

This book will be widely used in Catholic schools; secular ones will find it a stimulating source of outside reading selections. It is certainly a "must" for professional criminologists.

C. C. VAN VECHTEN

*Census Bureau, Washington, D. C.*

*Women in Crime.* By FLORENCE MONAHAN. New York: Ives Washburn, Inc., 1941. Pp. xiii+306. \$2.75.

A few years ago this reviewer analyzed a well-known volume of memoirs by a lady prison warden. He stated that she was a forward-looking and enlightened penologist. Her philosophy of penal treatment agreed with the deliberations of the Friends of The New Penology. She favored individualized treatment, classification, personalized programs, psychiatry, and all the fine means of making straight the crooked. Some time later, the reviewer met one of the better-known gentlemen penologists who said, "Why, that damned old hypocrite! She's an old-time warden." Since that time said reviewer has restricted himself severely to stating what the author says he believes and adds no accolade of praise for enlightenment.

Miss Monahan's volume was sent on its way by Lewis E. Lawes, late of Sing Sing, with a handclap and clasp. It may be a remarkably fine piece of work. I doubt it. The only word that occurs to me that adequately and appropriately characterizes its writing and content is "undistinguished." There can be no doubt that Miss Monahan's heart is somewhere in her left side, but there is no evidence I could detect that her knowledge of modern penology was anywhere particularly profound. She believes in physical examinations. She thinks psychiatry has a place in institutional programs and endocrinology may explain many things. She has a genuine fondness for keeping inmates "wholesomely busy." Parole is a good idea, though often poorly handled. Recreation is excellent for inmates, to say nothing of its effects upon the problems of administration. She particularly loathes political interference, although it is alleged that she did pay her dues when at Geneva in Illinois. I may be all wrong, I hope I am, but after a careful examination of this volume, which could easily have been a genuine contribution to penology, since we have practically nothing worth reading on female institutions and problems peculiar to their administra-

tion, I believe that this book might just as well have been written by a competent clerk as by the well-known superintendent of Shakopee, Geneva, and now Tehachapi.

It is not wise to dismiss anyone's efforts in too cavalier a fashion. Hence, we present a few of the more important reflections Miss Monahan has vouchsafed us. She is opposed to the trusty system because the trusty will double-cross you (p. 168). Healy will be glad to know that his "New Light" is not so new. On page 171 we learn that "The only sensible way to treat juvenile delinquency is to adhere to the Jewish method and find out what is wrong with the whole family set-up." She sets great store by this method because of its eschatological character, "when it is solved internally, the problem is solved once and for all." What happens when no internal solution is available is not discussed.

She insists that institutional life is unnatural and that the average dirty home, if there is love and affection, is preferred by children to the cleanest institution. Her practical rehabilitation program consists of three steps: (1) correction of physical troubles, (2) education for a trade, manners of conduct, and self-reliability, (3) well-rounded recreation program. Games and simple play lead to cooperation and an entirely new attitude toward life (presumably less *dissocial*—author's term). "Homosexuals should learn self-control and discipline as normal people do" (p. 226). "In California, women on parole are supervised as carefully as possible, considering there is only one parole officer for the entire state" (p. 240). She advocates a case load of not more than twenty women parolees and an increase in parole officers.

One last point which is well taken and sound, but which, unfortunately, she does not develop, is that there are criminals who should be permanently segregated and not confined with those who will one day be released. Her closing note is optimistic, "I see no prisons in the future—only hospitals. . . . I see no reason why medical methods cannot be perfected to cure criminals" (p. 306).

Well, they haven't gone very far with the common cold.

J. P. SHALLOO

*University of Pennsylvania*

*Corporal Punishment.* By HERBERT ARNOLD FALK. New York: Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1941. Pp. 162. \$2.10.

Two-thirds of this monograph is given over to a historical discussion of corporal punishment (any infliction of pain or discomfort through the medium of the physical body, p. 7) in the schools of the American Colonies and later of the United States. The author argues persuasively that the general attitude of a people toward life has a decided bearing upon the frequency with which their teachers resort to corporal punishment. When human existence is thought to be a tragic business—a vale of tears—and when children are bad because they are possessed, the devil must literally be beaten out of them. In other words physical punishment "is not an isolated phenomenon within the sphere of education" (p. 108).

To the reviewer, the final chapter in which Falk discloses the beliefs of modern educators toward physical punishment was most revealing. While eighty percent of the authorities circularized affirmed that corporal punishment was no longer an agency in school discipline (p. 124), such punishment was actually forbidden by school regulations in but ten out of 135 cities reporting. Four-fifths of the administrators believed that corporal punishment was necessary when other methods had failed, and the same large majority opined that "certain types of incorrigibles . . . cannot be disciplined effectively except by the infliction of corporal punishment" (p. 134).

In the light of what is known regarding the relative effectiveness of negative (punishment) and positive (reward) incentives to learning, this persistence of belief in the pedagogical efficacy of inflicting physical pain is a good illustration of a custom "not only innocuous but positively harmful that can persist for ages." Regardless of cultural pattern, a specific desirable type of behavior is more apt to be engendered quickly if it is rewarded than if numerous exceptions are punished.

STEPHEN M. COREY

*University of Chicago*

*Crime in the United States.* Edited by J. P. SHALOO. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.* Vol. 217. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1941. Pp. 237.

This important collaboration proceeds on the sound assumption expressed in its Foreword: "To build a house requires many skills; to understand crime causation requires many points of view."

The various points of view, with their sponsors, are represented in contributions of one chapter each. Although approaches are clearly differentiated in this volume, the writers do not insist on extreme emphases in crime causation. The net effect is a similarity rather than divergence in fundamental viewpoint, e.g., the geographer, biologist, psychologist, and psychiatrist appear very much aware of the significant role of cultural factors and are highly critical of certain deterministic doctrines enunciated by fellow investigators in the same fields.

While the volume as a whole is to be commended for its up-to-date and comprehensive coverage of both factual information and theory, certain contributors may be cited for their incisive articulation of fresh and challenging propositions:

Hall makes a convincing plea for more realistic analyses of crime unencumbered with the biases and rationalizations of our political and moral systems. He maintains that scholars are often blinded by the value-judgments of their own culture and that they must reconstruct their hypotheses to correspond with the basic realities of crime phenomena.

Montagu, speaking as a "mechanistic biologist" finds "that criminal behavior is, from the biological standpoint, as normal as any other form of behavior" (p. 46), "that the observable differences in the behavior between

different individuals is to a far larger extent determined by cultural factors than by the total number of biological factors which operate from within the individual" (p. 48), that "criminal behavior, with relatively few exceptions, represents a successful adaptation to a difficult situation" (p. 56), and that "it is not the individual who creates a crime, but society" (p. 56)—all of which should dismay the modern Lombrosos among his fellow biologists.

Reckless makes the initial assumption "that crime and delinquency are violations of a behavior code of a state and are not fundamentally different from violations of behavior codes of other social groups, as for example the church, the school, the family, the lodge, the labor union" (p. 78). Ploscowe, viewing crime as an integral part of our acquisitive society, argues "that the law of supply and demand operates in crime as elsewhere in our economic system" (p. 110). Sutherland continues his exposure of the white-collar criminal as the forgotten man of criminal statistics and criminal research. Monachesi shows how our cultural obsession for punishing criminals frustrates our ideally sound programs of rehabilitation.

These contentions are not new, in the sense that they have not been stated before, but taken together in this volume their cumulative effect is to suggest that we may be on the threshold of the long-awaited renaissance in criminological thought. It is high time that we abandon once and for all the outmoded conception of crime as pathological, atypical instances of individual behavior and turn to its realistic consideration as a perfectly natural, although "undesirable" attribute of our particular modes of life.

RICHARD FULLER

*University of Michigan*

*Reading Guide for Social Studies Teachers.* By EDGAR BRUCE WESLEY. Washington, D. C.: National Council for Social Studies, Bull. 17, 1941. Pp. 158. \$0.50.

*Teaching the Civil Liberties: A Source Unit.* By HOWARD E. WILSON *et al.* Foreword by HOWARD WHITE, Chairman. National Council for Social Studies, Bull. 16, May, 1941. Pp. 40. \$0.30.

Wesley gives annotated bibliographies for the social sciences, political science, economics, sociology, geography, American history, world history, social studies, education, magazines in these fields, suggested libraries, and a list of publishers. I do not know how good a job he did in the other fields, but the sociology books do not satisfy me very well—neither the list nor what is said about them. I was shocked to see Hooton's ape-antics included, and also Lundberg's *Sixty Families*. The list is heavily weighted with anthropology and rural sociology, which is all right with me—except Hooton's type of "anthropology." Wesley's four minimum and five larger library choices are not ones I would make. However he is very modest about his choices. I doubt whether fifty sociologists picked at random would show much more agreement than I have with Wesley in how to spend twenty-five dollars for sociology books if one were a high-school teacher of the social

studies. When I ask "Could I do a better job?" I am willing to admit that Wesley probably deserves an orchid. His introduction is especially interesting and generally sound.

The other pamphlet is one of the best jobs I have seen from the pedagogical point of view. Any comparison with Wesley's work would be unfair because the task was much simpler than Wesley's. I can't make any adverse criticism about *Teaching Civil Liberties*. I don't see how any competent teacher in college or high school could fail to do a better job using this outline than ninety percent of them probably do without it.

The method of doing the job might contain a suggestion for Wesley when he does his revision. The American Political Science Association appointed a committee of ten, and the Council of Social Studies a committee of nine, and the *et al.* of Mr. Wilson consisted of eighteen people. In addition to this, there were twelve consultants. Sometime this year, they will complete their project by publishing a *Casebook*. This is nice work if you can get people to do it—and they did. Excellent bibliography, problems, radio recordings, films, and literary aids. Forty fine pages worth much more than thirty cents

READ BAIN

*Miami University*

*Community Contacts and Participation of Teachers.* By FLORENCE GREENHOE. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. Pp. 91. \$2.00, cloth; \$1.50, paper.

This analysis of the community relationships of 9122 public school teachers amplifies and confirms the earlier work of Waller, Almack, Cook, Beale, *et al.* On the whole, it is a sad story and suggests that sociologists have a very valuable contribution to make in uncovering some of the reasons for "what is wrong with teaching" and possibly in suggesting remedies. Waller opened up this field and Cook has carried on the good work. Now Greenhoe gives us a nation-wide, carefully quantitative survey, conceived and interpreted in a sociological frame of reference.

Her basic concept is that the teacher exemplifies the sociology of the stranger and that her (three-fourths of the 9122 were women) relationships with the community are essentially a problem in assimilation—with the teacher seldom becoming a real member of the community: she is *in* it but not *of* it, as the saying goes. The study has suggestive significance (chiefly for further study) for those interested in social control, occupational mobility, community organization, and educational sociology.

It would be easy to point out possible shortcomings in the study, both from the methodological and interpretative angles, but the author probably is aware of this and the critical reader will note it for himself. The important thing is that the study is so far superior to the widespread loose talk about what people think about the matters treated that negative criticism may seem somewhat pedantic, especially if the author says "I agree, but how would you do it better—given the limitations of time and money?"

The first criticism is that much of the study is based upon opinions, or

"attitudes." If this is what you want, nothing can be said against it, but there should be some way of checking the actual behavior of people against what they say they have done, or would do, or what they think should be done. For example, it would seem more significant to determine what percentage of the teachers are "known Catholics" in the schools of the 356 board members than to determine that 22 percent more of the board members say "known Catholics" should not be hired than say they should be. Rather than asking whether teachers approve (from "strong approval" to "discharge") "smoking in private," etc. (for 23 items), one should ask "Do you smoke in private?" etc. Of course, many might lie about this even on anonymous schedules, but it might be less likely to induce the teacher to take a high moral tone. It would seem more useful to know the actual conduct of 300 teachers on these points than the opinions of 9122—and it would not cost much more. Until we have such behavior records, we cannot use opinion records very intelligently.

Also, one might question the desirability of 4494 cases from the Middle West (2870 from Ohio) out of 9122; of the 4628 remaining, 1344 are from the 11 southern states and only 1369 from the 13 northeastern states (655 from New York, although it has half as many people as the entire south; only two were from Massachusetts, though it has almost twice as many people as any southern state except North Carolina). No distinction is made between the attitudes of rural southern teachers and urban northern ones; most of the men were probably administrators, which tends to make the salary figures seem too high and may bias the conduct-code opinions; 10 percent of those answering taught in places of 2500 or under (rural) although over 55 percent of the population is urban.

Other points might be mentioned but these do not greatly detract from the fact that this is a pioneer over-all effort to find out some facts about one of the most pressing practical problems with which a democracy has to deal—what kind of teachers does it have? What are their roles and statuses in the various communities? In short, what is the sociology of teaching? This is a good start, but many more intensive and more discriminative studies ought to be made.

READ BAIN

*Miami University*

*Management and Morale.* By. F. J. ROETHLISBERGER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. 194. \$2.00.

This is an indispensable handbook for those interested in the theory and practice of personnel work.

The book is primarily a collection of addresses prepared for the late Professor Philip Cabot's Business Executives' Discussion Groups, held at the Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. These meetings were attended by an invitation group of distinguished members selected from both business and labor. The addresses given by Professor Roethlisberger were favorably regarded by this keenly critical group

and came to be anticipated as the high spot of each series. The rare combination of factual content and philosophic insight, and the refreshing literary style, provide a welcome relief from the dull, plodding comprehensiveness of the usual book on personnel management. Without discussing in detail the contents of the book, it is sufficient to say that it is invaluable to anyone interested in thinking about such questions as the following:

What are the pre-conditions for effective collaboration between management and workers? What is adequate personnel management? How can a plant be organized so as to fulfill its *technical* objective (of manufacturing a product at a minimum cost), and at the same time fulfill its *social* function of providing for its employees a socially significant way of life? What obstacles prevent the *formal system of communication*, provided for the fulfillment of the economic purpose, from operating equally well in providing relevant information about human satisfactions and dissatisfactions at the work-level? What can be done to increase the workers' understanding of managements' economic and logical objectives? How can management keep in touch with human problems at the work-level? What is restriction of output? How effective is this practice in achieving its ends? How can management protect employees' feelings of personal integrity? What are some useful pragmatic rules applicable to interview-technique when used as a tool in labor relations? What can labor unions accomplish for their membership?

PAUL PIGORS

*Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

*The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism.* By GEORGE FREDERICK KNELLER. New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1941. Pp. viii+299. \$3.50.

*Education For Death.* By GREGOR ZIEMER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. 208. \$2.00.

Sociologists concerned with a theory of social movements will find material of considerable relevance in Kneller's analysis of Nazi education. A sober, scholarly work, originally a doctoral thesis, the book is much more than an analysis of the *Educational Philosophy of National Socialism*; it is a thoughtful examination into the roots of the whole Nazi system, and from it emerge many suggestive hypotheses concerning social change. From the perspective presented by Kneller, the Nazi revolution is seen to be a slow, consistent cultural process, extending far back in German history. Reading this book, one realizes how little social science knows about social dynamics. What are the mechanisms of social change? How does a sectarian youth movement become a sprawling totalitarian adult-dominated youth program? Where shall we look today, in our own culture, for the roots of ideologies and movements which will channel our behavior in the next generation?

The discussion closes on a note which is finding increasing emphasis in current discussions of the Nazi experiment:

It is of course impossible to tell at this state what education resulting from a policy of national-mindedness and resting upon a political situation will contribute to civilization. Present hostilities will lead to some sort of answer; but no matter which side emerges victorious, the imprint of the loser will remain indelible. The battlefield will not solve once and for all existing ideological conflicts; nor will blind repudiation . . . (p. 255).

Kneller has worked carefully on this book; the footnotes contain significant peripheral material, and the bibliography is excellent—a fine example of "library research."

Curiously enough, Ziemer's *Education for Death* ends on the same theme, the author insisting that the totalitarian educational system is a distinct challenge to our own and that the Nazis, as a by-product of their preparation for war, have developed in youth qualities of community devotion and social responsibility which no nation seeking to create unity of purpose and cultural homogeneity can afford to ignore.

In other respects, however, Ziemer's collection of experiences must be regarded as an impressionistic melange of interviews, torn out of context and rather sensationalized portrayed. His primary purpose seems to be that of demonstrating that National Socialism, through its comprehensive youth program, has developed a backlog of fantastically loyal young Nazis who will be an obstacle to international reorganization long after Hitler is dead and the German armies are defeated. The Sunday supplements have told us this many times. What sociologists want to know is the extent to which a few years of propaganda has shifted the fundamental values of German culture; to what degree has the medium of persuasion shifted from the black-jack to the mores? Isolated experiences, as in Ziemer's book, can alarm us but they do not inform.

ROBERT SCHMID

*Vanderbilt University*

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